THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 160 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 27, 1945 NUMBER 4

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 85

EDITORIALS

Mr. Churchill Protests Too Much 88
Wallace In, Jones Out *by I. F. Stone* 89

ARTICLES

If Negrín Comes to Mexico *by Freda Kirchwey* 90
Break-Through in the East *by Charles G. Bolté* 91
50 Years Ago in *The Nation* 92
Tomorrow the Movies. III. Hollywood Goes to War *by Dorothy B. Jones* 93
Sleep Comes Hard *by Dorothy Baruch* 95
A Wounded Woman Speaks *A Poem by M. F.* 96
Murphy Will Out *by Peter Stevens* 97
In the Wind 99

POLITICAL WAR

Why the Nazis Fight On *by Fritz Sternberg* 100
Trivia Politica 101
Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 102

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Letter from France *by Lincoln Kirstein* 103
Narcissa *A Poem by Rolfe Humphries* 106
Briefer Comment 106
Dance Note *by Virginia Mishnun* 109
Films *by James Agee* 110
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 111

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 100 *by Jack Barrett* 112

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor J. KING GORDON
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL S. STEWART
ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]

Editor Political War Section
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Director of Nation Associates
LILLIE SHULTZ

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL JONATHAN DANIELS
LOUIS FISCHER CAREY MCWILLIAMS REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

THE SECOND BATTLE OF LUZON WENT SO WELL last week that one began to suspect a catch somewhere. Why were the Japanese not fighting? Obviously they were caught badly off balance by the landings in Lingayen Gulf, which took their Manila defenses in the rear. Even locally they were surprised by our landing on the southern, more swampy shores of the Gulf, instead of in the northeast, where they had big guns. Immediate opposition, as in other recent Pacific landings, was negligible, suggesting that the destructive force of the rocket projectiles which the Navy now uses in such great numbers is a good deal more impressive than the correspondents have been allowed to tell us (probably these rockets were the American "secret weapon" which helped stop the German Ardennes offensive). Then the Japanese found movement of reinforcements severely curtailed by our air interference, which by the end of last week had destroyed half the rolling stock on Luzon. Movement of reinforcements in from the mainland was even more severely restricted by Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet air arm, which patrolled deep inside Japan's "basic sea area"—where the enemy's navy is pledged to fight—and smashed four convoys in the South China Sea, presumably forming up for the run to Luzon. Even considering these difficulties, the failure of the Japanese to fight on the highly defensible Agon River line or anywhere else except in the mountainous region northeast of Lingayen was obviously a surprise to General Krueger, who advanced cautiously towards Manila. Perhaps the answer to the puzzle was that the Japanese had suffered too heavily on Leyte to fight a losing and bloody battle on the Luzon plain, and were planning to abandon Manila, get away into the mountains, and make us dig them out. If this proves to be the case, it will be good news: for with Manila Harbor in operation again, we can prepare for the next big steps of the Pacific war.

*

THE ARRIVAL AT MYITKYINA OF THE FIRST motor convoy destined for China over the new Ledo Road presages dramatic new developments in the war on the Asiatic continent. Although the opening of direct communications with China awaits the capture of Wanting, near the China-Burma border, military observers expect the fall of that city within a few days. Plans have already been completed for placing traffic on the new road under strict American-Chinese military control, thus preventing the corruption that minimized the effectiveness of the old Burma Road. There are prospects, moreover, that direct connections with Burma may be reestablished in the not too distant future. British troops are already in the outskirts of Mandalay, and other British

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

units are cleaning up south of Akyab. Meanwhile the United States Fourteenth Air Force has greatly stepped up its activities in eastern China and has coordinated them with blows of Admiral Nimitz's fliers along the China coast. So far no news has been received regarding the effect of the improved military prospects on the political situation within China. The deadlock between the Kuomintang and the Communists remains unbroken, but the new Chungking government has displayed much greater willingness to cooperate with the American military authorities than did the old one, in which figured Ho Ying-Chin as War Minister. China still faces great difficulties, but once supplies begin to move many of them will disappear.

*

THERE IS A TRAGIC IRONY IN APPLYING THE term "liberation" to the capture of Warsaw. For the ancient city is in ruins and death had done its work of wholesale liberation long before the Red Army crossed the Vistula. First great city to feel the unleashed fury of Nazi vengeance, its defenseless citizens were systematically exterminated by Hitler's supermen until scarcely one was left. The few who managed to secure arms used them in the heroic but fruitless rising under General Bor at the very moment when the Russian armies staggered back under a fierce German counter-offensive. Now into the devastation moves the new government, as yet unrecognized by London and Washington but carrying Moscow's benediction. If we regard the London Polish government in exile as a feudal relic, we must view the Lublin group as primarily the creature of Moscow. And Russia's intransigence on Poland, if expressed in less pious phrases, is hardly more excusable than the British government's claims in regard to Greece. In our opinion Poland is very much the concern of the United Nations—of the United States. It must be made Item I on the Big Three agenda. Our immediate concern is for the Polish people themselves. It seems strange, for instance, that Mikolajczyk, head of the large Peasant Party, is not in the government. Again, democratic minority groups must be guaranteed rights even if they happen to be in opposition to the government. If the Curzon line is to be accepted as Poland's eastern frontier—as seems likely—what about the western frontier? Is the partial dismemberment of Germany a matter for unilateral decision, or should it be held over for a joint decision of the United Nations, or at least the Big Three? We have insisted that it is the President's duty to take the initiative in Europe and bring the full weight of our nation into the settlement on which our own security must rest. The Polish question is a good place to start.

*

THE POLICY OF UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER, insofar as it means no bargaining with the Nazi government or the German generals, remains as valid as it always was and we have no sympathy with the critics who condemn it, seeking a peace by negotiation. But, stated baldly and left without further definition, it has helped Goebbels to put over the idea that surrender means complete annihilation for the German people—an idea all the more easily assimilated, perhaps, because of a guilty realization of their own crimes towards conquered nations. In his speech last week Winston Churchill, refusing to abandon the principle, sought to meet this situation by declaring: "We may now say to our foes . . . we are not extirpators of nations or butchers of peoples. We make no bargain with you. We accord you nothing as your right. Abandon your resistance unconditionally. We remain bound by our customs and our nature." Reassurances in such terms, however, are not likely to make much impression on the propaganda-sodden minds of the Germans. What is needed is some more specific statement of the conditions we mean to impose, thus giving the Germans an opportunity to weigh the advantages of surrender against the prolongation of a hopeless battle. We hope to discuss this subject in more detail next week.

*

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER HAS FOUND A new method for distilling poison from the pure milk of international idealism. Not so long ago his only concern was to keep America out of Europe, as he indicated very plainly in an interview with I. F. Stone which *The Nation* published on January 11, 1941. Then he wasn't interested in the Poles, for whose brutal treatment by the Nazis he had no word of reproach. The Poles, he said on that occasion, should have made peace on the basis of the surrender of Danzig, the Corridor, and Silesia, and the United States ought to have pressed them to do so. Today he is loud in his sympathy for Poland, "subjected to the terrors of a ruthless conqueror" (he means Russia), and cannot find words strong enough to condemn Soviet claims to the lands east of the Curzon Line. But if the Senator's attitude seems to have changed, his purpose is the same. Then he was trying to keep America isolated; now he is intent on returning America to isolation. Either our Allies, he declares in effect, must institute the millennium in Europe or we must wash our hands of the whole mess and refuse all responsibility for maintaining the future peace. Thus he totally misses the point that American participation in an international order is not a matter of knight-errantry but of hard common sense and intelligent self-interest.

*

CRITICS OF OUR POLICY TOWARD ARGENTINA have been proved wrong again. It is true Argentina has refused to participate in further Pan-American parleys "so long as Argentina's rights continue to be disregarded," but it has also been careful not to break with the Union, which can still serve to keep Argentina in touch with the other American countries. Moreover, Foreign Minister Peluffo's forced resignation, ascribed to differences with Juan Perón, Argentina's strong man, over internal rather than external affairs, is largely the result of American refusal to be "appeased" and is a heartening sign of disunity among the ruling clique. Peluffo is said to have been cold to Perón's aspirations. Perón apparently wants to hold "elections" to gain the Presidency for himself and by a democratic gesture secure American acceptance of the present regime. Finance Minister Caesar Ameghino, now also interim Foreign Minister, is well suited to his new post by virtue of lack of interest in it. He is now busily engaged in organizing a National Reinsurance Institute to protect blacklisted Axis insurance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

companies and may be expected to leave foreign-policy decisions to Perón. Argentina's relationship to the other American countries is one of the problems to be taken up at the Inter-American Conference on the war and post-war problems scheduled for Mexico City starting February 22. Stettinius will attend, and the Foreign Ministers of almost all the Latin American countries will be there. It is probably too much to expect that the problem of Argentina will be frankly discussed and a definite policy arrived at, but a jointly adopted, well-implemented Hemisphere policy toward Argentina is long overdue.

*

BY NAMING EDWARD J. HART OF NEW JERSEY chairman of the new House Committee on un-American Activities, Administration supporters apparently believed that they had laid the ghost of Martin Dies which Representative Rankin had so unexpectedly resurrected. There was even talk to the effect that the first task of the new committee would be to investigate the un-American activities of the Dies committee. Apparently, however, Rankin has again been underestimated. Although the new chairman has issued a statement declaring that in his view the committee has a moral obligation to adhere to judicial rules of evidence and not to denounce a thing as un-American merely because it "is opposed to the personal views of those who are doing the denouncing," Rankin has countered by declaring that he will bear no interference from his associates on the committee in his efforts "to rid the country of these un-American activities." Despite the efforts of the Democratic majority, it looks as if Rankin and not Hart may dominate the committee. On the crucial vote as to whether the Dies committee should be perpetuated, Hart and three of his Democratic colleagues on the committee voted against further witch-hunting. But the three Republican members—including two holdovers from the old Dies committee—voted with Rankin of Mississippi and Peterson of Florida for a continuance of the investigations. Thus the witch-hunters seem to have a clear majority of one on the committee, which is all that a man like Rankin requires to do untold mischief. Fortunately, the new committee has yet to receive an appropriation of funds. There is still time for the Democrats who voted for the Dies resolution to get letters from the home folks.

IN EARLY ISSUES OF *THE NATION*

CHARLES MICAUD, author of "The French Right and Nazi Germany 1933-39," writes on *France's Role in the New Europe*

GRAYSON KIRK, professor of Political Science at Columbia University and a close student of post-war organization, discusses *The Politics of World Security*

CAREY McWILLIAMS describes *Racial Dialectic—Missouri Style*

CHARLES ABRAMS inspects *The High Walls of Stuyvesant Town*

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN LABOR'S VIEWS ON post-war housing policy and those of the housing industry have been brought sharply into focus in hearings before the Senate Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and in the recent sessions of the National Association of Home Builders. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, has set as a minimum goal the construction of 1,750,000 houses annually, giving employment, direct and indirect, to 6,500,000 men. He revealed in addition that his organization was prepared to build, through collective work, large numbers of homes for its own members. Other labor spokesmen urged the establishment of a permanent national housing agency and guaranties for year-round employment for workers in the construction industry. In contrast, Douglas Whitlock, president of the Producers' Council, national organization of the manufacturers of building materials, expressed doubt whether as many as 833,000 houses could be built annually and opposed the setting up of a national housing agency. In the absence of government initiative, involving housing subsidies for low-income groups, it is evident that the housing industry fully intends to pursue the restrictive policies which have characterized its activities in the past twenty-five years. Instead of costs being reduced through standardized designs and mass-production methods, Mr. Whitlock predicts that the average home built after the war will cost 30 per cent more than in 1940. If the industry persists in these policies, labor may have no alternative to a system of cooperative building as outlined by the president of the U. A. W.

*

THE MASTIFF IN THE AIRPLANE IS, FOR THE moment, as famous as the seal in the bedroom. That any responsible individual should ask for—and that any responsible official should grant—an A priority on an Army cargo plane for a dog, in war or peace, is fantastic. That the fantasy should be carried out to the point of "bumping" three servicemen is even more incredible. And that the dog should have reached its final destination in an Army truck escorted by an Army major is just too much. The whole story of Elliott Roosevelt's dog sounds as if it had been made up by James Thurber, including the fact that only the bull mastiff preserved his dignity throughout. No wonder the White House joined the outraged editorial writers in denouncing the whole proceeding. It should now dispatch a few blistering memos on the use of Army equipment for private purposes.

*

ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1905, IN PECK'S RESTAURANT, 140 Fulton Street, New York, a small group met together and observed that "the recent remakable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as some indication to the educated men and women of this country that socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent." On this note of academic optimism the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was born. Jack London was the first president, Upton Sinclair one of the two vice-presidents, and Harry W. Laidler undergraduate representative on the executive. Forty years later the League for Industrial Democracy, successor to the I. S. S., is holding an anniversary dinner—on February 3, at the Roosevelt Hotel in New

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

York. Upton Sinclair will broadcast a speech from California. The league's indefatigable director, Harry W. Laidler, will be honored with a presentation. Chief speakers will be Professor Frank Scott, national chairman of the Canadian C. C. F., a Socialist party headed for power, and Arthur Creech Jones, Labor Member of Parliament from England. The "recent Socialist vote" of 1944 looks small in comparison with the 400,000 polled in 1904, but the forces of progress which are cutting new channels through walls of tradition and dogma, more than justify the vision of the pioneers of forty years ago. *The Nation* congratulates the league and its director and urges its readers who are in the New York area to attend the celebration of its fortieth year.

Mr. Churchill Protests Too Much

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S speech in the House of Commons last week was a masterly performance. Hard pressed by his critics, foreign and domestic, he launched a counter-attack which appears to have caught the rather weak opposition in Parliament off balance. We write before the debate is closed but there is little doubt that he will get his vote of confidence. However, if the political strategist has triumphed, the statesman has failed; the speech will not restore the confidence of a large part of the democratic world, nor remove the growing mistrust of Churchillian imperialism.

It was clear from the speech that Mr. Churchill had been stung by recent criticisms of his policies. His reply was to deny everything. Britain, he insisted, had no ulterior designs in Europe, no plans for acquiring spheres of influence, no desire for bases. The sole objective of his government was to restore government of the people, to establish the rule of the ballot box, to guard against intimidation or regimentation by any faction. And he attempted to prove that in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Italy, British policy had been directed toward this end. In regard to Greece, in particular, Mr. Churchill said that he had never felt "more sure in mind and conscience of the rectitude of our motives." We think the gentleman doth protest too much.

Nor are our suspicions assuaged by the chronological account he gave of events in Greece, an account both incomplete and prejudiced. Moreover, he began his story only with the landing of the British forces last fall and thus omitted the first four acts of the tragedy. For British actions in the past three months can only be understood in the light of the persistent British effort since 1941 to bolster up the King of Greece and to scatter his opponents. It is true that at another stage Mr. Churchill referred to the supplies of arms sent to the E. L. A. S. but he did not mention that these supplies were stopped in April, 1943, although the right-wing partisans of Colonel Zervas continued to receive them. Nor did he say anything about the report of a high British officer who after personally observing the effectiveness of the E. L. A. S. operations recommended it should be given greater support. The report was pigeon-holed, the officer assigned to another post. And now Mr. Churchill sneers at the way the E. L. A. S. fought the Germans and insinuates that it saved its arms to establish a domestic dictatorship.

Again, Mr. Churchill described the republican partisans as infiltrating into Athens after the liberation and plotting to seize the government. Our correspondent, Constantine Poulos, who was there, reported in *The Nation* of December 23 that the resistance movement had every opportunity to take power in Athens between the time of the German withdrawal and the British arrival. Its leaders refrained because they thought the independence of their country and their democratic liberties guaranteed by the Teheran agreement.

We could point to innumerable other omissions and distortions in Churchill's story. Two must suffice. He said that when he went to Athens on Christmas Day, he found a general desire for a regency under Archbishop Damaskinos. Why did he not admit that this solution was put forward weeks before with the support of all the democratic parties in Greece and was then vetoed by Rex Leeper, British Minister in Athens? At that time agreement to the regency would have come as a sign of British good faith and would probably have averted the later tragedy. Churchill discovered this solution too late.

The British Prime Minister persisted in describing most inaccurately the E. L. A. S. forces as composed mainly of communists but added that it might be better to call them "Trotskyites." Where did he acquire the vocabulary of the fellow-traveller who uses this term to damn any left-wing nonconformist? Does it indicate a British protest to the Kremlin, which found it convenient to disavow the Greek communists in this way? Or is it an invitation to Stalin to disclaim responsibility for his followers in Greece? Whatever the explanation, Mr. Churchill's resort to this kind of abuse does not add to our confidence in his sincerity.

Full of sound and fury in his condemnation of the Greek left-wing partisans, Mr. Churchill had nothing but honeyed words for Tito and his followers who, to most observers, seem to be men of much the same kind with much the same ideas. He explained that his government had agreed with Moscow to avoid friction by pursuing a common policy in Yugoslavia and both indorsed the Tito-Subasich agreement for the establishment of a regency pending a plebiscite on the future constitution. Mr. Churchill regretted that young King Peter was not satisfied with this plan but warned him that it would be put into effect whether he liked it or not. We have no criticism of this decision but why should Peter be slapped while George is coddled? The suspicion will not down that the explanation is to be found in the greater strategic importance of Greece to the British Empire.

It is equally hard to accept at their face value Mr. Churchill's protestations about Italy. "We have," he declared, "no political combinations in Europe or elsewhere in respect of which we need Italy as a partner." But what many Italians suspect, and will continue to suspect, is that Britain requires Italy not as a partner but as a puppet. This fear may be unjustified but Mr. Churchill said nothing to allay it. Nor will the Italians appreciate his statement—in the course of a later appeal to the Germans to trust Allied humanity—that, "so far as Italy is concerned, there are moments when one has almost wondered whether it was they who had uncon-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ditionally surrendered to us, or we who unconditionally surrendered to them." Considering the present state of Italy, this witticism is not merely tasteless but callous. For not only is the country wracked by starvation, hunger, and disease, but its government is completely under the thumb of the Allied Commission and the British ambassador, who seem intent on impeding the restoration of democracy. It is all very well for Mr. Churchill to orate about giving the people "a fair chance to decide their destiny." It is deeds that count and his actions both in Italy and Greece strengthen reactionaries who can be trusted only to hold elections when they are in a position to "make" them. While he pursues such policies, he cannot expect the motives of his government to go unquestioned.

On the other hand, it is not enough for Americans to question. We have to press our own government to take far more positive action for the establishment of democracy in Europe. That means, for a start, that we must put aside our fears of revolution in Europe, recognizing that over a large part of the Continent revolution is as necessary and inevitable as it was in America in 1776. The reactionary leopards are not going to change their spots in response to preachings, especially after observing our practice in fostering Darlans and propping up Francos. They will have to be forcibly ejected, and we should encourage such action instead of wringing our hands on the side-lines. We must have the nerve to pursue the logic of democracy if we are to counter effectively Churchill's logic of imperialism.

Wallace In, Jones Out

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 22

MR. ROOSEVELT'S decision to replace Jesse Jones with Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce is no mere payment of an election debt, unless it be a debt the President owes the common people of the United States. The ousting of Jones and the appointment of Wallace is a necessary first step in the fulfilment of the full-employment pledges Mr. Roosevelt made in his fourth-term campaign.

The creation of 60,000,000 jobs will depend in large part on instruments of government up to now in the hands of Jones. As Federal Loan Administrator, the Texan controlled the agencies of public expenditure to which post-war works programs must look for their financing. He dominated the RFC, which in turn owns the war plants that can play so fruitful a role in an expanding economy after the war. As Secretary of Commerce, Jones occupied a key position in respect to foreign trade, one of the principal sources to which we must look for full utilization of war-swollen facilities when peace comes. This triple power conferred a triple obligation that an unimaginative, socially backward small-town banker of the Jones type was strikingly ill-qualified to fulfil. The President is fortunate and the country is fortunate to have available for these key positions a man of Wallace's vision, broad knowledge, and human sympathies. Not the least of the beneficiaries of the shift will be the forces of genuine enterprise in American business. No one could have been less sympathetic than Jones with the independent entrepreneur and the small business man, no one more subservient to monopoly.

There will be a bitter fight in the Senate over the Wallace appointment, and Jones had been busily preparing for that battle long before he released his exchange of letters with the President last night. The first public indication of his attitude was the ill-tempered editorial attack on Wallace in last Friday's Houston *Post*, a paper financed by Jones and run by his friend, former Governor W. P. Hobby of Texas. The paper supported Dewey in the last election. The keynote of the coming fight was struck by Jones in his rebellious and unsportsmanlike reply to the President: "For you to turn over all these assets and responsibilities to a man inexperienced in business and finance will, I believe, be hard for the business and financial world to understand." The reaction from those circles will be intense, for the RFC and the Federal Loan Agency—hitherto safe in the ultra-conservative hands of Jones—represent the first American experiment on a huge scale in state capitalism. In progressive hands this vast accumulation of government credit and capital is a potential menace to those business forces which profit by a restrictive economy. The first statements from Congress foreshadow another "Republicratic" coalition against Wallace. Jones has the support in the Senate of Taft, head of the G. O. P. steering committee, and in the House of Minority Leader Martin. The right-wing Southern Democrats have always been Jones's supporters. The Wallace appointment must run the gauntlet of the Senate Commerce Committee, which is headed by Bailey of North Carolina, friend of Jones as of every big money lobby in Washington.

Wallace faces three hurdles before he can take over Jones's vast powers. The first is confirmation; and given strong grass-roots support, he can win it. The Republicans can be embarrassed by their position during the fight over the State Department nominations. At that time they said they could not interfere with the President's choices for his own official family. The second hurdle is in taking over the Federal Loan Agency. The Reorganization Act of 1939 placed it under the Commerce Department; a special Congressional resolution passed in September, 1940, authorized Jones to accept the nomination as Secretary of Commerce and still remain Federal Loan Administrator. Whether Wallace can be both without Congressional authorization is a ticklish legal question. The third hurdle lies in the fact that the board of directors of the RFC is dominated by Jones satellites, and they may balk at accepting Wallace directives. Jones may also stir trouble by making an alliance with Foreign Economic Administrator Leo T. Crowley to cut down the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department and enlarge that of the FEA. It remains to be seen what part Will Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State for foreign economic affairs, will play in this struggle—whether he will be loyal to the President or to his old ally, Jones. At the time of Clayton's appointment it was said that he was being placed in the State Department to weaken Jones and prepare for his replacement by Wallace. Clayton is reported ambitious to take over some of the work of Commerce.

The President has tackled a man-size political job and needs organized popular support. We cannot expect the President to take serious risks left of center if we do not do all in our power to help him in the battles thus precipitated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this fight Mr. Roosevelt's strongest ally in Congress is Speaker Rayburn of Texas, who blames Jones for the unprecedented opposition to Rayburn's renomination in the last primaries. This opposition stemmed from the same circles which bred the unsuccessful anti-New Deal revolt in that state, a revolt to which Jones gave covert aid despite his position in the Cabinet. Whatever the outcome of the Wallace fight, Jones himself is through politically for the time being. He became a power in the Democratic Party by financing Houston's bid for the 1928 convention; he made his debut in Washington as a Hoover appointee to the RFC. He has used his vast powers to build up his own influence in Congress and to hamstring the New Deal from its very beginnings. His ouster at last is good news of first importance.

If Negrín Comes to Mexico

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Mexico City, January 20

THE attempt to convoke the Spanish Republican Cortes has failed for two main reasons. First, it has been boycotted by several important groups, particularly those identified with the Negrín government. Second, it has been torn asunder by the irreconcilable conflict of ambition between the two leading figures responsible for calling the deputies together—Indalecio Prieto and Martinez Barrio. The rank and file of the twenty thousand Republicans exiled in Mexico long for political unity, and many deputies attended the first session on January 10 hoping that unity might be established through the Cortes. But the essential illegality of the move and the political purposes behind it made any reunion between the divergent forces impossible. The calling of the Cortes was revealed as a political maneuver, nothing else. Its collapse was inevitable. The second session, scheduled for yesterday, was canceled, and the Cortes adjourned by unanimous vote *sine die*.

The maneuver was doomed at the first meeting when the necessary quorum failed to appear. The exact number of delegates present was seventy-two. This initial difficulty was glossed over, however, by turning the session into a memorial for the deputies—more than 120—who had died since the last meeting on Spanish soil in 1938. But the second session could hardly be devoted to such an uncontroversial subject. The major political issues which had reached the boiling-point had to be faced. Either the Cortes must be accepted as legal and capable of making decisions in regard to the future of the government of the Spanish Republic or else it must discard all pretense of being the Cortes. The lack of quorum was only one obstacle. Even more important than the failure to achieve a quorum was the absence of the government itself. Martinez Barrio in calling the Cortes tried to pull off the impossible double play of recognizing the existence of a legal Republican government and at the same time ignoring it. With great ceremony the traditional government "blue bench" was provided, but the head of the government, Juan Negrín, was not consulted or even advised in advance of the Cortes meeting. A telegram received here from Negrín in London by members of the Negrín Cabinet in Mexico City declared that not until January 10, the day the deputies met, did he receive notice of the meeting and then as member from Las Palmas, not as Prime Minister. Even some of the members attending the Cortes were unwilling to accept as legal a meeting called without the government. Along with the members who are not attending they realize that the only value of the Cortes lies in its constitutionality. Lacking that, a revolutionary junta would do just as well. The Cortes cannot be manipulated for political ends without undermining the validity of the democratic process.

But behind these legalistic arguments lie political and personal conflicts that have been sharpened by events in the last ten days. Put into a few words, the facts are these: Martinez Barrio intended to use the Cortes to elevate himself to the position of head of the state, a post he would automatically succeed to if he were to be confirmed as the president of the Cortes. (It should be remembered that the last Republican President resigned after the Catalonian retreat in the Spanish war and later died in France.) Indalecio Prieto had quite a different interest in the Cortes meeting. He originally opposed the idea of convoking it. One of the shrewdest of Spanish politicians, he undoubtedly anticipated the legal and other complications which were involved. He eventually supported the Barrio maneuver, hoping that he might augment the Junta de Liberación, which he wholly dominates, by drawing in various elements represented in the Cortes. Presumably he was willing to assist in the elevation of Barrio in exchange for this much-needed support. But after the first meeting he caucused his group and announced that they would oppose any action of a parliamentary nature, including the election of a president. Seeing the Cortes on the toboggan slide, Prieto hopped off before it reached the bottom. He has not saved his prestige. His junta has certainly been weakened by the whole maneuver, but at least Prieto's fortunes are not now tied to the fading star of Barrio.

One element that has gained from the abortive coup has been the Negrín government itself. If Negrín had been in Mexico, a large proportion of the groups represented in the Cortes would have crystallized around him. Several of his ministers, with Alvarez del Vayo representing him as vice-president of the Cabinet, have been playing an active part outside the Cortes, first, opposing the meeting as an illegal attempt to overthrow the government and, second, making plans for a broader coalition of Republican elements. The eager desire for unity was demonstrated by the crowds of Spaniards that packed the gallery during the first meeting and by the presence of many deputies who came not to support Barrio or Prieto but only to identify themselves with the effort to mobilize the Republican forces. The failure of the meeting must have disappointed these honest people, but it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has left the government almost a free field and enhanced prestige. Now it is of the greatest importance that the elements backing the government get together and offer Spanish Republicans everywhere a firm standard to rally to.

The day before yesterday the press here carried a dispatch announcing that Negrín would arrive in America the latter half of February. Without doubt he is planning to come and has definitely told his friends so. If he should not arrive it would be only because he was prevented by the British or the American government or by both. Spaniards here discount the possibility that obstacles will be put in his way and feel sure that he will come and come soon. I cannot share this confidence. If the British government found reasons to prevent Negrín from broadcasting to the great Madison Square Garden meeting in New York they can find better ones to prevent him from coming to Mexico. Nor has the State Department shown any inclination to facilitate the movements of democratic European leaders—especially Spaniards. It seems unrealistic to hope that a plan designed to hasten the unification of Spanish Republican elements will get help from either of the major Western powers. If Negrín actually arrives, he will, I believe, succeed in drawing together all groups except the diehard irreconcilables. If he does not arrive, then the unifying forces among the Republicans here will have to work overtime to achieve the same result. It would be fantastic if reactionary policies in London and Washington were permitted to interfere with the union of Spanish democrats in exile.

Break-Through in the East

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE Russian offensive of mid-winter, 1945, is unquestionably one of the great achievements of the war; for the skilful employment of sheer power it is probably one of the greatest military performances of all time. Regarding the affair cynically and with an eye cocked at the unhealthy political relations currently prevailing among the United Nations, one sympathizes with the fairly common expression of the American doughfoot's feeling: Jeez, I hope we never have to fight the Russkies.

Presumably the German doughfoot wishes his leader had found some other path to world domination than by fighting these same Russkies. Trying to hold the Vistula line in the past fortnight can have been no fun for even the most *Götterdämmerung*-minded Nazi. The gods were never intended to pass their twilight hours to the accompaniment of 500 heavy artillery pieces per mile, or to the unleashing of such a vigorous and rancorous trio of marshals as Konev, Zhukov, and Rokossovsky. These three, who learned their lessons the hard way in the early spate of German victories, have now returned with a great offensive which makes the Nazi blitzkrieg look like a rather modest kindergarten enterprise.

The primary objective of the offensive seems to be identical with that of all Allied objectives in the European theater—the destruction of Germany's armed fighting strength in the field. A secondary objective, the breaching of the Reich's eastern frontier, is already accomplished. (Perhaps not figuring largely in the calculations of the Soviet high command but composing what we may call a tertiary objective is the final annihilation of all the little voices of the "Atlantic community" which cry out that the Russians have left us holding the bag, that they make political offensives only, and why don't they open a second front anyway? Just as the opening of the second front in France annihilated—one trusts—the selfsame voices in the Soviet Union.)

The means used in attaining these objectives are quite unparalleled. Marshal Stalin does not toss in Rokossovsky, Konev, and Zhukov at the head of three battalions. It is important to remember that these men do not command armies but army *groups:* Zhukov, for instance, had on his staff before Warsaw five colonel generals and at least two lieutenant generals. The press-association estimates of 2,000,000 Russian troops involved on this 450-mile front may not be far amiss. This might work out at about 150 divisions. It is an interesting comparison with the United States army's original plan to fight the war against both Germany and Japan with 100 divisions of combat troops.

Konev led the offensive in the south with a drive out of the Sandomierz bridgehead, first retaking the towns which the Germans had retaken last summer—which were not then reported as lost in the Russian communiqué—and subsequently scoring a major break-through, to advance about 100 miles westward in five days to Czestochowa. German losses in this action must have been extremely heavy, with many small-scale encirclements and surrenders. Then, with the enemy's attention concentrated in the south, the great, imperturbable, careful Zhukov—perhaps the best Russian field commander since Kutuzov—ground forward, encircled the city that neither Rokossovsky nor frontal attack could take, and liberated Warsaw. Rokossovsky himself, switched to the next front north, pushed across the Narew and outflanked half of East Prussia, driving a wedge between the Polish capital and the stronghold of militarism that can give no comfort to the Germans defending East Prussia.

Regardless of the total German losses in men, guns, and tanks, the immediate result of the early stages of this grand offensive is that the hard core of Germany's eastern defense has been broken. The Narew-Vistula line from Ostroleka to Krakow is smashed, and with it the enemy's best hope for a successful defense of central Poland. The fall of Warsaw, marred only, but excessively, by the tragic differences of Polish—and therefore of United Nations—politics, removes the chief roadblock on the Red Army's way to Berlin. It opens not only the main road west to Berlin but the route along both banks of the Vistula northwest to Danzig and the Baltic, potentially sealing off East Prussia from the rest of the Reich. Southward, the advance beyond Czestochowa and Krakow

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

threatens German Silesia, second in industrial capacity only to the Ruhr.

The realization of any of these threats would be as intolerable to the Germans as would have been the continued advance toward the Ruhr and Saar on the western front. Consequently one must expect a hardening of the front—one of those seemingly miraculous tactical improvisations which the Germans can pull out of the bag to meet an apparently hopeless strategic situation. Germans have done this so consistently—at a dozen places on the eastern front since just after Stalingrad, the Mareth Line, Kasserine Pass, Anzio, the hills north of Rome, the Ardennes—that one nearly despairs of ever finally licking them. Yet obviously their opportunity for miracles diminishes. The pulling off of miracles requires three chief ingredients, outside of ingenuity, which the Germans admittedly have *par excellence*—space, time, and man-power. The recoil after each miracle has taken space from the Germans; the extra time has been time in which German strength declined relative to Allied strength; and the cost of the miracle has always been a net loss to German man-power. This process has but one logical culmination, which is total and irrevocable German defeat—unconditional surrender, whether Senator Wheeler likes it or not. Here the question is not one of political expediency but of fundamental military policy; and the history of German arms in this war proves conclusively that only the total dissolution of the whole fabric of the nation-at-arms can establish the fact of the nation's defeat.

Thus we may resign ourselves to the probability of yet another miraculous German recovery on the eastern front with the comforting conviction that a few more miracles will cost Germany its existence as a nation. I must state flatly, with the hope of being proved wrong, that I can now see no other way of concluding the war in Europe. The *Volkssturm* is in action on both the eastern and western fronts; the recent trend in German propaganda with respect to the execution of Allied "war criminals" indicates strongly a similar intention to involve the whole mass of the German people finally and irrevocably in the criminal performance of the Nazi leaders and the S. S. It is not impossible that the Germans may now turn to the use of gas on both fronts, and to the previously announced execution of prisoners of war as hostages against further Allied advances into the Reich. Through the undeniably devilish inventiveness of the German General Staff and the culminating inhumanity of the Gestapo the leaders of the present German state will try to postpone their last day as long as possible. The Ardennes counter-attack definitely succeeded in its immediate objective of upsetting the winter time-table of the Western Allies, which more than counterbalanced the heavy German losses. If the east-front situation is too far deteriorated for even the Germans to mount a counter-offensive, we must yet expect a hardening of the line some place that will require a major Russian regrouping and preparation for further offensive action. The loss of space, time, and man-power diminishes the German capability for miracles, and thus brings the day of victory blessedly closer; but in the meantime we had best toughen our minds for the kind of hideousness that would naturally accompany a nation's attempt to pull the walls of civilization down over its head into the grave.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE DISSATISFACTION with the young Kaiser seems to find every day bolder expression in Germany. . . . The Emperor's notion of himself was always ridiculous. During the first few years of his reign he instructed all the first teachers in Germany in the proper methods of instruction, called a convention to elevate the working classes, and told the soldiers they were to obey only God and himself, or rather God through him, and were to shoot their fathers and mothers if he ordered them. His occasional manifestations of his wisdom since then have been in all respects worthy of the Middle Ages.—*January 3, 1895.*

THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN the Rev. Lem Penrod and Mr. John Slate at Grassy Creek, Kentucky, the other day, on the subject of infant baptism, will, we fear, cause a good deal of unreasonable scandal. Finding it impossible to get Slate to take a proper view of this important ordinance, Penrod drew a revolver and shot (probably merely as a warning) at Slate's leg, the ball passing through his boot. Slate, instead of taking this in a proper spirit, "rushed at the minister," whose resources at close quarters were not, however, exhausted, for he produced a butcher knife and endeavored to slash Slate's abdomen, but only reached his trousers. Friends then stopped the fray. This attempt on Slate's abdomen we cannot excuse, Slate's head being the real seat of his error; but in a fray it is, of course, difficult to plant one's blows where they will do the most good. But we must not too hastily condemn the Rev. Penrod's methods, for infant baptism is by no means the only doctrine erroneous views on which have been corrected with the knife or the bullet. There is hardly a single theological error which in times past has not been corrected by cuts, bruises, and burns. Penrod is simply an anachronism, but we trust he will keep an eye on Slate, and get him right somehow eventually.—*January 17, 1895.*

THE OHIO WOOL-GROWERS have resolved that the free-wool provisions of the new tariff are "a colossal political crime." This seems to us a mistake. In the first place, it will stir up the wrath of the silverites. They hold the copyright in the phrase "a colossal political crime." . . . Besides, it is hardly polite to tell the men—and particularly the women—who are buying better clothing for less money than ever before in their lives, that they are accessories to a crime.—*January 24, 1895.*

WHATEVER BE the right or wrong of it, the great bulk of our population will not sit and talk without some kind of intoxicating drink before them.—*January 24, 1895.*

OF THE FOUR NEW CHAPTERS added by Mr. Bryce to the third edition of his "American Commonwealth," none will attract more attention than those on The South Since the War, and The Present and Future of the Negro. . . . He leaves it to be inferred that he agrees with the eminent Southern witnesses whom he adduces, in regarding the possession of the suffrage as indispensable to the protection and independence of the blacks. This opinion, we believe, will stand.—*January 31, 1895.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tomorrow the Movies

III. HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR

BY DOROTHY B. JONES

AMERICANS at home know little about the actualities of war. Our cities have not been bombed. Our existence as a nation has not been threatened. Consequently, it has been necessary to find a means of bringing the realities of the war home to people, and the motion picture, with its substitution of visual for actual experience, has proved the best device. Films have also found new uses overseas. Nazi propagandists have long characterized America as a decadent democracy, ruled by gangsters and thugs, its people softened by easy living. Our own gangster pictures bore them out. There was a need for films which gave foreign audiences a true projection of American life.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war the motion-picture industry established a War Activities Committee. This committee recommended that the President appoint a single agency or individual to coordinate the government's and the industry's film production. Accordingly, early in May, 1942, the office of Coordinator of Government Films was set up, with headquarters in Hollywood. This office, which later became the Motion Picture Bureau of the Office of War Information, has, since its inception, interpreted the government's needs and policies to the motion-picture makers, supplied them with the special information required for the production of certain war films, and at the request of the studios has analyzed short subjects and feature scripts for their potential effect on the war effort. The functions of this office have been purely advisory. In accordance with the wishes of both the industry and the Administration, final responsibility for the films made in Hollywood during the war has rested with the motion-picture industry.

1942: SPIES AND COMEDY G. I.'S

America's first year of war saw the desperate losing struggle for the Philippines, the uncertain days when the enemy threatened Australia, the long-drawn-out battle for Guadalcanal. Through all this the American public, psychologically as well as materially unprepared for war, groped for some way to meet the crisis effectively.

The feature pictures produced by Hollywood in this period did little to help solve the nation's most pressing problem, that of mobilizing the public for an all-out war effort. American home-front activities were usually given comedy treatment. Red Cross work, the role of the air-raid warden, and civilian-defense activities generally were ridiculed in several films. Such presentations, belittling the seriousness of civilian war activities, may very well have made more difficult the recruitment of volunteer workers. Also, at a time when Britain and other nations were suffering under heavy enemy bombing, it was poor taste to distribute them overseas.

The films made about the enemy were likewise inappropriate. At a time when the public needed above all else a sober evaluation of the strength of the enemy, then far greater than our own, spy pictures were the order of the day in Hollywood; even some of the westerns wove the spy theme into their usual formula. Some films went so far as to ridicule the enemy.

A few of the 1942 pictures attempted to tell the story of the conquered countries: the best among these were "Paris Calling" (Universal), starring Randolph Scott and Elisabeth Bergner, and "Joan of Paris" (RKO), with Michele Morgan and Paul Henreid. However, the big United Nations picture of the year, and unquestionably one of the best war films produced during this early period, was "Mrs. Miniver" (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer). Although this film was assailed by some as an unrealistic, Hollywood version of war-time England, it furthered British good-will toward this country by its tribute to the fortitude of Englishmen under the blitz.

Not many other war films in that year were worthy of note. An excellent why-we-fight film was "Joe Smith, American" (MGM), which in its presentation of the life of an average American production worker dramatized the values of our way of life. One of the best was "Wake Island" (Paramount), a tribute to the marines who held out there against overpowering odds. This was the first Hollywood film to attempt a documentary approach to a war story.

Of 486 features released by Hollywood during 1942, more than one-quarter dealt primarily with the war. Of course many of the films released during the first half of that year were written, and in some instances produced, prior to America's entry. In its new productions the industry by and large took the easy way out, capitalizing on the war with stories about spies and fifth columnists and the lighter side of army life; 65 per cent of the war films and more than 15 per cent of all films turned out were spy pictures, comedies, or musicals about camp life. Thus the bulk of Hollywood's 1942 product gave foreign audiences a poor picture of America's understanding of the war and must have caused much resentment.

1943: MORE AND BETTER WAR PICTURES

During America's second year of war the proportion of the total product devoted to the war increased, and at the same time the character of the war films underwent a considerable change. For example, many more films—twice the number in 1942—attempted to tell why we in America were fighting this war. Pictures about the United Nations almost trebled in number, with thirty productions in this category. On the other hand, films dealing primarily with enemy activities dropped off to less than one-half of the number put out in 1942. Most important of all, the number of films of value to the war effort increased.

Among the pictures about conquered Europe were "The Moon Is Down" (20th Century-Fox), "Tonight We Raid Calais" (also 20th), and "Edge of Darkness" (Warner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brothers). Though well-intentioned, these films were Hollywood versions of conditions and peoples about which the producers, writers, directors, and actors knew little. One of the most unfortunate efforts was "The Chetniks" (20th), which mirrored American ignorance in its heroic portrayal of Mihailovich, the Yugoslav two-timer. The films about Britain included "Journey for Margaret" (MGM), a story about the children of England during the blitz, and "Thumbs Up" (Republic), about Britain's war production, both useful to the war effort. "Corvette K-225" (Universal), portraying the Canadian navy's convoy system, was one of the best war films of the year. Among the films about the Soviet Union the most talked-about was "Mission to Moscow" (Warner), which adapted the documentary form to a dramatization of Ambassador Davies's book of the same title. While this picture was criticized for the dramatic license which it took with certain facts, it was an extremely useful film in that it gave a fundamentally sympathetic portrayal of our Soviet allies, who had for several decades been ridiculed on the screen and maligned by the press of this country.

The cycle of melodramatic stories about enemy espionage and fifth columns pretty much spent itself in the first half of the year. With films like "Hitler's Children" (RKO) and "This Land Is Mine" (RKO) the industry began to examine enemy ideology more seriously. In Hollywood films generally the enemy came to be less often identified merely as a slant-eyed Japanese or guttural-tongued German and more clearly characterized as fascist. This change was reflected in several efforts to portray American fascism on the screen, as for example "Pilot Number 5" and "Keeper of the Flame" (both MGM). Run-of-the-mill pictures about our armed forces continued to be highly melodramatic, with the swashbuckling American hero so deeply resented overseas, but a more realistic and more dignified portrayal of American fighting men was introduced in such films as "Air Force" (Warner), "Bataan" (MGM), "Guadalcanal Diary" (20th), "Sahara" (Columbia), and "Gung Ho" (Universal). After "Air Force" the documentary influence became stronger.

Thus 1943 as a whole was distinguished by a more realistic and more seriously intentioned screen treatment of the war. Other outstanding films useful to the war effort were "Watch on the Rhine" (Warner), Lillian Hellman's story of an anti-fascist, and "The Ox-Bow Incident" (20th), which turned the camera spotlight on the question of civil liberties. Also worthy of note was "Power of the Press," a Columbia "B" picture, which undertook to dramatize the responsibility entailed by freedom of the press. Finally, "The Human Comedy" (MGM), in its homely portrayal of American small-town life, told the world something about what Americans feel they are fighting for.

1944: THE DECLINE OF THE WAR FILM

The third year of the war saw the war film begin to decline. Since most studios had large backlogs of films about the war which were released as the year wore on, the proportion of war films to the total product was only slightly less than that of the previous year, but there was a definite swing in interest away from the war feature. Fearful of being caught on V-Day with a stock of war films, Hollywood groped uneasily for post-war themes. Uncertain where to find them, it swung back to known pre-war formulas, and scores of light musicals, murder mysteries, and other escapist films unrelated to present events were put into production.

Films about the enemy continued to decrease in number, and spy melodramas became almost extinct. In May Paramount released "The Hitler Gang," a film with a documentary-like quality which examined the Nazi ideology and the history of the rise of the party in Germany. Films about the American armed forces were numerous, but with few exceptions were of poorer quality than those of the previous year. There was a tendency to return to the musical-comedy treatment of army life. One notable exception was "Destination Tokyo" (Warner), which dramatized the hazardous life of our submarine crews in enemy waters. Several films relating to the post-war period were released. Among these were "None Shall Escape" (Columbia), which dealt with the necessity for punishing war criminals, and "Wilson" (20th), which examined some of the mistakes of the last peace—the latter a very exceptional film.

On the whole, there were fewer films of value and significance to the war effort than in the preceding year. At least three other 1944 releases, however, should be mentioned: "The Sullivans" (20th), "Dragon Seed" (MGM), and "North Star" (Goldwyn). "North Star," while presenting what is obviously a Hollywood version of the Soviet Union, made an important contribution both at home and abroad by its moving dramatization of the impact of the Nazi invasion on the lives of Russians.

HOLLYWOOD'S WAR SCORE

Certain Hollywood producers have pointed out that the industry has fulfilled its primary war function by providing entertainment for weary production and home-front workers, as well as for our fighting men. Although this contribution has its value, the fact remains that the film's real opportunity to further the war effort lies in providing information about the war or increasing our understanding of some aspect of it. In general, the Hollywood "movie" is not the best vehicle for conveying information, since it is fundamentally a fantasy form, but some efforts have been made to use the form for information purposes by giving it a documentary flavor ("Wake Island," "Mission to Moscow," "Wilson," and the like). Unfortunately, such films, though about real people and real happenings, retained their story-like quality, and this led to confusion as to what was fact and what fantasy and greatly lessened their information value.

On the other hand, many of the films mentioned in this article did aid in increasing the public's understanding of war problems. By its very freedom from factual details, the feature film achieves a clarity of theme which enables it to make its point more easily than the documentary. Even more important, audience identification with imaginary characters is a valuable asset in developing audience understanding of a problem. Films like "This Land Is Mine" or "Corvette K-225," which conveyed the spirit of reality without tying themselves down to a specific set of facts, demonstrated that the movie form is well suited to the difficult task of increasing understanding of the war.

Hollywood's actual contribution to the war effort through its feature pictures may be summed up as follows: From December 1, 1941, to December 1, 1944, the industry released 1,321 features. The main story of three in every ten of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these films revolved around the war. Yet of a total of some 370 war pictures, only a few dozen can have accomplished anything of significance for the war effort at home or abroad. What is behind this failure of the motion-picture industry to fulfil its obligations to the nation at war?

To begin with, the movies, like most other American industries, were unprepared for the important work they had to do. For years Hollywood had been producing six or seven hundred films a year, the vast majority of which were musicals, domestic comedies, westerns, and murder mysteries based on well-worn formulas. For years the producers had stoutly maintained that the American public wanted, above all else, to be "entertained." It is small wonder, then, that faced with the task of making films which would educate the public about the war, Hollywood movie makers did not know where to begin. They lacked the experience. They lacked the know-how. And, like the rest of America, they themselves lacked real understanding of the war.

There were in Hollywood, however, a number of sincere, progressive individuals who for years had been fighting a losing battle against the viewpoint of the average Hollywood producer. Among them were producers, directors, and story editors, but the majority were writers. In pre-war years the more successful members of this group had occasionally been permitted to make a film or two of social significance. By and large, however, though some of them earned weekly salaries that ran into four figures and were expert craftsmen in film-making, they had developed a feeling of hopelessness about what they could achieve in Hollywood. These were the men and women who saw immediately the important role which the industry could play in the winning of the war. They saw, too, a new opportunity to overturn the Hollywood tradition. To these men and women Hollywood owes much, for they have been the writers, directors, and in some cases the producers of the most significant and useful of Hollywood's war films. The recognition given their films in the press and at the box-office has lent new prestige in Hollywood to such names as Dudley Nichols, Dalton Trumbo, Mary McCall, Jr., Dory Schary, Henry Koch, John Howard Lawson, Emmett Lavery, Sidney Buckman, and others.

Though the industry as a whole, through its feature films, has contributed relatively little to the war effort, important changes have taken place in Hollywood as a result of the war, changes which will leave a permanent mark on the Hollywood product. An evaluation of these changes will be the subject of a later article.

[*Miss Jones's second article, the last of this series, will appear next week.*]

Sleep Comes Hard

BY DOROTHY W. BARUCH

IT SEEMED ages since they had sold their white board house; ages since they had first heard those radio broadcasts. The voices had pleaded for workers. More workers. "If you are patriotic," they cried, "join the all-out war effort. Become a soldier of production. Your country needs *you*." The voices had promised good jobs. Swift upgrading. High pay. Homes standing ready, built for war workers. Sunshine and palm trees. Seashore and mountains.

But for many nights they and many others had slept in stations—on benches, on floors, in wash-rooms; in alleys and on sidewalks, their baggage beside them. One morning 153 Negroes had been counted asleep on the sidewalk in front of the hotel that had been their last hope.

In Los Angeles, as in many other industrial centers, more than a quarter of a million people had arrived since Pearl Harbor. One study showed that 86 per cent had come to stay. And 94 per cent of those who were away in the armed services intended to come back. Where would they live?

More construction was planned, but not enough. The National Housing Agency here as elsewhere estimated needs and recommended necessary priorities. Unfortunately, its prerogatives extended only to what was needed for immigrant essential war workers. And this category left out the thousands and thousands who worked in laundries, stores, and markets, even those who loaded battleships with lifeboats and belts, food and medical kits. As result, when the NHA figured that 30,081 additional family units were needed in the metropolitan area, comprising the city and a part of the county, a more nearly complete estimate indicated that the city alone was 75,000 units short.

In the face of such a shortage, the white person in search of housing had a long, arduous task. The Negro found it almost a hopeless one. For while the total population had increased twice as fast in 1940-44 as in the decade before, the Negro population had increased seventeen times as fast. And housing for the Negro had not increased proportionately. All unrestricted districts were already packed and jammed. In one neighborhood, and one only, was there a reservoir of housing. Negroes had not lived there before; the Japanese had. But now the Negroes crowded in. Once called Little Tokyo, the neighborhood had contained around 30,000 Japanese. In the spring of 1944, renamed Bronzeville, it housed 79,000 persons, almost all of them Negroes.

Down one street and up another, stores before the war had been filled with bright bolts of silk, gay kimonos, and sweetmeats "made in Japan." Restaurants had served shrimp and sukiyaki. Polite little barbers had bowed to polite little customers. Now all these places were closed. The signs over the doors were fading. And behind the shabby fronts of the Love Bloom Cafe, the Kobi Produce Company, the Fuji Beauty Shop, people who had come to work in war plants set up housekeeping.

In place after place children lived in windowless rooms, amid peeling plaster, rats, and the flies that gathered thick around food that stood on open shelves or kitchen-bedroom tables. Ordinarily there was no bathtub; never more than a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

single washbowl or lavatory. Sometimes as many as forty people shared one toilet. Families were separated only by sheets strung up between beds. Many of the beds were "hot," with people taking turns sleeping in them.

Countless persons slept in their cars, paying rent merely to park in someone's backyard. Countless others walked through other people's rooms to get out and in and had their own rooms walked through. Privacy and dignity were impossible. Love and tenderness were impossible.

In overcrowded places diseases of the body flourish: rodent-born typhus and bubonic plague, tuberculosis, epidemic meningitis, and the lesser evils of lice and nits, thick in children's hair. Diseases of the mind also flourish: delinquency, crime, and prostitution; disillusionment and a sense of not being wanted; resentment and unreasoning hate.

A slum-clearance program had been started in Los Angeles in the thirties. With the rise of war activities, the housing of war workers was included in this program, reorganized to meet new deeds. But from Pearl Harbor to the spring of 1944 only ten thousand dwelling units of public housing had been authorized for construction in metropolitan Los Angeles. When all but about a thousand of these had been completed, five thousand families still stood on the waiting list. And new droves of immigrants were arriving—among them three and four and five thousand Negroes a month.

Another solution, of course, would have been a program of private housing with scheduled construction sufficiently expanded to meet current demands. As it was, 120,000 units of private housing had been authorized, but this did not materially help the Negro, for of the 120,000 private housing units, the Negro could have only 1,300. The slice, moreover, was even thinner than the figure indicated. After two years of war none of the units for Negroes had been completed. Five hundred of them had not been started. Land on which to build them had not even been bought.

The only other possible solution was to find housing in one of the few districts where deed restrictions had expired. But when the great rarity of an unoccupied home was located, the incoming family was apt to discover that being the first Negroes in a neighborhood was not a very comfortable experience. William Maxwell, for example, held a degree in engineering; Frances had been a teacher. Together they had earned enough to buy the one vacant residence in a district where restrictive covenants had recently run out. But when Frances went to the corner market and asked for hamburger the butcher would answer, "No hamburg today." "Then some bacon, please." "No bacon today." "How about that bacon in the showcase?" "That's been sold." And turning to the next customer, "Yes, Mrs. Smith? Some bacon? Why surely."

The milkman who stopped at all the neighbors could not possibly deliver to the Maxwells. The iceman couldn't stop either. Nor the vegetable wagon. And then one night printed tracts were left on all the doorsteps: "Protect Your Property! Don't let black trash make it lose value. If you don't sign up now, more niggers will move in. They'll take over your district. Your Improvement Committee will call on you for your signature to exclude them. Be sure to Sign Now."

Several weeks later the Maxwells joined their brethren back in the slums.

By such means we create hopelessness in our midst. We create protest, and hatred that strikes out blindly. We cause the desire for retaliation to mount until it finds release through the blackjack in dark alleys, the crack of a pistol, the flash of a knife. And who are the losers? Not the Negroes alone, but all the people—the community, the state, the nation, all who bear the cost of a land divided against itself, all who bear the burden of disease and of unreasoning hate.

We do not do much better for the other darker-skinned persons among us. We have restrictive clauses against the Mexicans—our very good neighbors. We have clauses that affect our allies, the Chinese. We even have clauses that affect any among us whose "blood" is not of a certain degree of supposed "purity."

It is curious that we Americans, people of good-will, should continue to let our actions deny our ideals. Why are we fighting this war? Are we eager to rescue the people of other countries from intolerance and persecution but entirely willing to disregard what is happening to millions on our own soil?

A Wounded Woman Speaks

[*At El Shatt in the Sinai Desert, not far from the Red Sea, 3,000 Yugoslavs live in five UNRRA camps. The following verses appeared in one of the hand-written "wall newspapers" posted around these tent cities.*]

Give me wings
to fly with
and give me soft rain water
from the dewy leaves
of an olive tree.
My heart is shattered.

I hear
birds that sing in grandma's almond tree
and everything, everything is white,
as if snow had settled on the firs.

The fruit is growing in the leaves,
the wheat is ripening.
Tell my Radovan
that once I've seen with my own eyes
how it grew
how it ripened.

I was happy once.
The ovens are fragrant with bread.
Can't you smell it?
This is not smoke
and no scorched hearth.

This is no river awash with,
no field engulfed in,
blood.

And tell of white sails I saw
and of the red star
coming up
the way poppies ripen.

M. F.

(Translated from the Yugoslav by Eugen Sharin.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Murphy Will Out

BY PETER STEVENS

ON JANUARY 5 the New York *Herald Tribune* published a U. P. dispatch from Paris reporting the arrest there of Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Jean Rigaud on charges of "endangering the security of the state." Every American who was in North Africa knows that when these two men are placed on trial before the French High Court, there will loom behind them the absent figure of Robert Murphy, formerly the President's personal representative in Algiers. For it was Murphy who was the architect of the reactionary American policies which we sought to impose on the French after our landings in November, 1942; Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud were his eager collaborators.

Newspaper reports are often like icebergs; only a fraction of the real story shows above the surface. I propose to take up this U. P. dispatch paragraph by paragraph and indicate what lies in the murky depths below. . . . Murphy Will Out.

> Two leading supporters of Admiral Jean François Darlan, Vichy High Commissioner in North Africa, who collaborated with the Allies after they landed there in 1942 and who later was assassinated, were arrested here today and charged with "endangering the security of the state."

The pro-democratic, American-organized fifth column in French Africa had begged Murphy before the landings to drop his dealings with Darlan, Lemaigre, and Rigaud. Murphy refused because he was determined to defeat the Germans and still preserve the reactionary *révolution nationale* of Vichy, to which Darlan, Lemaigre, and Rigaud were openly devoted. All three men belonged to that wide circle of French fascists who wanted France to be on the winning side in the war, whichever that was, and to retain the Pétain corporate state. All three were members of the super-counter-revolutionary organization, secretly nourished since 1922 by the German General Staff, called the "Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire," or M. S. E. It was to this gang that Murphy instinctively turned, for to him the pro-democratic French were simply "that bunch of Jews and Communists."

> Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, a prominent pre-war French industrialist and president of the influential French Taxpayers' League, and Jean Rigaud, who served as Minister of the Interior under Darlan, were both bitterly anti-De Gaulle in North Africa. They were placed under armed surveillance but escaped and were reported since in Spain and Portugal.

Lemaigre-Dubreuil, peanut-oil king, was also closely associated with the Banque Worms, chief German financial agent in the control of strategic French industries and the agency through which Germany sent money to French anti-democratic fascist organizations. Both he and Rigaud were associated with Laval in the sinister Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (B. N. C. I.). Lemaigre founded the Taxpayers' League, whose chief function was to hire hoodlums to beat up French democrats and stage riots for political purposes. And he was the French chief of the foodstuffs section of the Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden, which stripped France of its food to feed the Germans. Rigaud was a high Cagoulard and is credited with organizing French participation in the murder of the Roselli brothers; the Cagoulards had them killed in France in 1938 as a favor to Ciano, the request having been relayed to them by the G-2 section (intelligence) of Marshal Badoglio's staff.

It is true that Lemaigre and Rigaud were placed under what the French call *résidence forcée* after De Gaulle came to Africa. De Gaulle had requested the right to arrest them and try them immediately, having evidence that both men had been in constant touch with the Vichy government since our landings. Murphy interceded for them with all the prestige of his position as the President's personal representative, and De Gaulle, threatened with the loss of Lend-Lease, gave in, as he did also in the case of Flandin and Noguès.

> They had actively supported the Allied landings in North Africa but subsequently made no secret of their hostility to the French Committee of National Liberation, which evolved into the present French government.

The two men did in fact support our landings, and they arranged for the importation of General Giraud. It is reported, however, that they profited from their knowledge of the impending landings by buying African francs on the Lisbon Exchange. It is certain that four months after the landings they, together with General Noguès, were mixed up in the smuggling of the Bank of Morocco's gold to Lisbon. No one was punished for this crime until after De Gaulle was in power, and then only the poor puppet directors of the bank. Even after De Gaulle was established in Algiers, the French reactionaries were confident that Murphy would somehow keep him out of France, and that the junta of Noguès, Lemaigre, and Rigaud would then be recalled from the Iberian Peninsula, where they were reported to be using the Bank of Morocco's gold for their conspiracy.

If these men made no secret of their hostility to De Gaulle, neither did their American friends and backers, especially the then Colonel, recently General, and now Assistant Secretary of State Julius Holmes, and his friendly mentor, Robert Murphy. In saying goodby to an American returning home in the spring of 1943, Murphy said, "We are not worried about De Gaulle: we've got him lassoed!"

> French authorities were unable to ascertain how they crossed the frontier and reached Paris.

The chances are good that they crossed the border out of Spain into France with the same assistance they had when

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they fled from North Africa. I was informed by a French eyewitness that the two men had crossed from French to Spanish Morocco unchallenged, thanks to American transportation facilities and the fact that their *laisser-passers* were either of American origin or issued on American request.

Lemaigre-Dubreuil was said to have been instrumental in arranging the escape from France to North Africa of General Henri Honoré Giraud. Always identified with the extreme right in French politics, he at one time was suspected of being in contact with the Count of Paris, pretender to the French throne, in Algiers, and of having kept in touch with Vichy after the Allied landings. However, he was sent with Giraud's military mission to Washington and served as chief economic delegate and chief delegate for inter-Allied affairs under Giraud.

Lemaigre was instrumental in bringing Giraud to North Africa, although Giraud's departure was no "escape" but a concerted effort by the men of Vichy, through their secret "synarchy," to provide for the continuation of the New Order in France whether the Germans won or the Allies—another example of the Janus-faced collaboration by which the anti-democratic industrialists, generals, and bankers of France sought to insure their future.

Lemaigre and Rigaud were not merely suspected in Algiers of being in touch with the pretender, the Count of Paris; they openly boasted of it and said they would make him Lord Protector of the Realm. In this they had the support, on the quiet, of Murphy and his henchmen.

It is interesting to note that while Lemaigre was in Washington in December, 1942, as Admiral Darlan's delegate, he came to New York seeking to open an American branch of Pierre Laval's Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie.

Followers of General Charles de Gaulle have never hidden their distaste for Lemaigre-Dubreuil. At London, in February, 1943, De Gaullists asserted that "his policy has always been directed toward the exclusion of democratic elements from French resistance forces wherever they be."

To an American who was in North Africa this must seem a most moderate understatement of Lemaigre-Dubreuil's (and Rigaud's) policy. Every discouraged French democrat in Algeria and Morocco in 1942-43 also knew that in pursuing it both men had the unofficial but whole-hearted backing of Murphy. To suppress democracy had been the political objective of Lemaigre and Rigaud for twenty years. To this end they had tirelessly conspired with Pétain and Weygand to kill the Third Republic, using such organizations as the M. S. E., the Cagoulards, the Taxpayers' League, and the reactionary press. "Petain Shall Rule" was their motto before the war began, and their intention was openly published in their press.

It was these two men, as the real power behind General Giraud, who insisted on keeping the 15,000 political prisoners and refugees in concentration camps in North Africa, where they remained for six months after we landed. Many of these internees had merely committed the crime of joining the Foreign Legion to fight for France in 1939 against the Germans or of resisting the Vichy-Axis regime in North Africa before the landings.

Murphy informed the President at Casablanca in January, 1943, that there were no longer any political prisoners in North Africa, and the President was credulous enough to repeat it on the radio. That same week I personally counted more than 7,500 such prisoners, many of them French citizens, being used in the killing slave labor of building the Trans-Sahara Railway, which would have connected Lemaigre's Senegal holdings with North Africa. Most of these poor devils were intellectuals or middle-class Europeans, unused to the fierce heat and hard labor; they received four cents a day, and died like flies. The brutality of these camps surpassed that of the German Dachau.

The persecution and disfranchisement of the Jews, the summary arrest and imprisonment of Gaullists, and the imprisonment of Communist deputies continued under Rigaud and Lemaigre with the protection of Murphy and his cover-all phrase "military necessity."

Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud, who had been Giraud's Secretary of Political Affairs, both resigned their posts in March, 1943, as a part of the general house-cleaning of anti-democratic forces from the Giraud regime. Rigaud was identified as a former Cagoulard (hooded man, or pro-fascist), and in his North African post he held power over the civilian police, which he was said to have used to spy on De Gaullists.

Both men resigned their posts, following the lead of General Bergeret, former Minister of Aviation at Vichy, who was also in Giraud's Cabinet. They resigned because on March 14, 1943, Giraud, under the pressure of American public opinion, which had begun to protest against the fascist smell of Murphy's North African version of Vichy, made a mildly pro-democratic speech. (Most of the minor political reforms promised in this speech were postponed under the excuse of military necessity and were actually not enforced until De Gaulle arrived.) But both men continued to be close to Murphy, going in and out of his great villa on the Rue Michelet and apparently serving as his advisers.

Rigaud, fascist and Cagoulard, had indeed controlled the police. He had done this by means of a coup d'état a week after the assassination of Admiral Darlan. In the middle of the night he ordered the arrest of Chiefs of Police Achiary and Bringard and of a dozen other influential democrats who had aided our landing at Algiers and had in fact made it possible and nearly bloodless. Rigaud accused these men of complicity in the Darlan shooting and without a hearing hurried them off to a fort in the desert. Murphy went through the formality of a polite protest, but he and his office were unable to hide their thorough agreement with Rigaud's action. The men were kept in prison long enough for Rigaud to complete the task of making the Algerian police force his tool.

No longer fearing the police, Rigaud and Lemaigre were able to get on with their schemes for a super-Vichy regime under the Count of Paris. The S. O. L., Pétain's storm troopers, came out again and openly preached fascism and even defeatism. Murphy remained silent.

Both men fled to Spanish Morocco in May, 1944, after they were placed under police surveillance in Algiers. They are believed to have reached Spain from there. If they had not fled, it was reported, they would have been arrested "for plotting against the state." (End of U. P. dispatch.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here the U. P. dispatch has become vague; nothing is said of the whereabouts of Lemaigre and Rigaud between June, 1943, when De Gaulle came to North Africa, and May, 1944, when they are reported as "fleeing" to Spanish Morocco and Spain.

When the new French government made moves to arrest these men in June, 1943, it found them secretly protected by the Americans. In the case of Rigaud, the evidence of his conspiracy with the Count of Paris and his constant maintenance of contacts with Vichy was so complete that the Algiers government finally felt it could move against him despite this protection.

Rigaud fled from Algiers in an American airplane provided by Robert Murphy. He went to Casablanca. There he hid in the house of an American official and received secret messages from Murphy assuring him that his friends were all working for him in Algiers and that he should not worry. At this same time American officials answered an inquiry from M. Puaux, Resident (governor) of Morocco, by saying that they did not know Rigaud's whereabouts. Finally, through a compromise reached in Algiers by his "friends," Rigaud went into *résidence forcée* in Casablanca. For part of this time he was sheltered by Vice-Consul Kenneth Pendar in a house in Marrakech.

Some time in June, 1943, General Noguès, the notorious pro-fascist ex-Resident of Morocco, fled, just ahead of arrest, to Spanish territory. He was followed the next month by Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud, who crossed the border in a car lent to Murphy's organization by the Civil Affairs section of the United States army.

The U. P. dispatch reports Lemaigre and Rigaud fleeing from arrest in May, 1944, and does not mention their flight in July, 1943. I assume that they probably returned to French North Africa—just as they recently arrived in Paris—either clandestinely or with some American protection. A conspiracy of such long standing, so well financed, and for such high stakes does not die easily, as their daring trip to Paris in the face of arrest proves. Both General Noguès and Lemaigre were repeatedly reported in Vichy during the fall and winter of 1943-44, when of course all France was occupied by the Germans.

If plotting against French democracy, for the monarchy, for the Vichy type of totalitarianism, and against the restoration of a republic constitutes "plotting against the state," Lemaigre and Rigaud are guilty. Will they plead that all their actions in North Africa were taken with the full approval of the American authorities? Will they seek to call Robert Murphy as a witness for their defense? In any case, even if Murphy's name is never mentioned in court, Frenchmen will not forget the role he played in the plot to circumvent the restoration of the French Republic; and for them his policies and those of the American State Department will also be on trial.

Indeed, on a wider scale, British and American policy in Greece, Belgium, and Italy will, in the eyes of European democracy, be arraigned in that French court, for the tragic pattern for many subsequent mistakes was set in North Africa. The American press ought to report this trial in complete detail.

In the Wind

FROM HIS LITTLE FARM in the Chicago *Tribune* building Alex Small went to New York. This is from one of his letters home, published in the *Tribune* of January 5: "The very sight of the New York crowd antagonizes the visitor who has come into New York from his farm or small town on the Western plains. These frizzy heads, these broad, brutish cheekbones, these furtive, piggy eyes, these slack mouths—the whole 'muffin-faced race' which he sees in the New York subway—how different from the well-marked features of his neighbors back in Iowa or Kansas. So comes the conclusion that New York is an alien force inside the United States."

IN ITS ISSUE of January 6 *Business Week* reported that Republic Steel had settled out of court 192 damage suits, totaling $300,000, for the deaths and injuries of C. I. O. workers in the Memorial Day massacre of 1937. As far as we can learn, this was a clean scoop. Despite the news value of the story, none of the New York newspapers mentioned it, nor did *Time* or *Newsweek*.

BEST AND COMPANY closed its St. Louis store on January 13. The *Post-Dispatch* said the reason given by the company was "increased business, which it was unable to cope with in inadequate business quarters."

MRS. JOHN T. BATTEN of Birmingham, Alabama, chairman of the pan-American study committee of the American Legion Auxiliary, told the national executive committee on January 11 that the twenty Latin American countries "all have a republican form of government, they all officially recognize the existence of a common democracy throughout the Americas, and all have the same deep-rooted love of liberty."

BY HECK! Sears, Roebuck's new spring and summer catalogue, just out, has twelve pages of "dress and leisure" slacks, but not one pair of men's overalls.

COLORADO'S 40,000 old-age pensioners this month received an extra dividend of $2,000,000. That was the amount of the surplus left in the state's pension fund at the end of last year. The law requires it to be distributed pro rata.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Certificates of German birth used to be one of the highest-priced articles on the black market in Poland, but reports are that the bottom has dropped out of the market. . . . The Nazi authorities in Czechoslovakia have recently decreed the death penalty for selling civilian clothes to German soldiers. . . . Last month saboteurs visited an Oslo factory which had been making pullovers for the German army. After doing their job they carried away 1,845 kroner in currency. They later returned the money with a note expressing regret for the "mistake" and stating that they realized it was not up to them to confiscate profits derived from serving the Germans, since that would be done more effectively when the time was ripe.

[*Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why the Nazis Fight On

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE American people were as unprepared for the mighty Russian break-through in the east as they were for the recent German counter-offensive in the west. Yesterday we were thrown into deep gloom by the discovery that the German armies could not only impede our advance but actually fight back with vicious power. Today, as the Soviet armies sweep through Poland into Silesia and East Prussia, we are resuming our interrupted plans for victory celebrations. Once more we may be disappointed.

For it is my firm conviction that our optimism today is made of the same stuff as our complacency at the very moment of von Rundstedt's attack. The limited break-through of the German western armies cannot, of course, be compared with the power and magnitude of the Russian drive. But the German armies which today are yielding before the Red Army can no more be written off than could the German armies which handed us so grim a Christmas present in Belgium. Behind the armies are a people steeled to a long and bloody resistance. It will help us appreciate the resources of the enemy today if we attempt to draw some lessons from our reverses in the west.

Although the Germans lost more than a million men during the fighting in France, these were almost all second- and third-class troops. Drew Middleton, in a dispatch to the New York *Times* on December 10, 1944, before Rundstedt's counter-offensive began, reported that the number of German divisions on the western front was still at least as great as on June 6, the day of invasion. The German military leaders had managed this, Mr. Middleton wrote, by "the sacrifice of third-class infantry divisions in the retreat across France and Belgium in order to save S. S., Panzer, and Panzer Grenadier units."

The regrouping of German armies on the western front was also facilitated by the fact that the Allies found it extremely difficult to supply their onrushing troops. The Germans held on to the French ports with great tenacity—they are still holding on to some—and before giving up any of them they destroyed most of the docks and machinery. These measures gave the Germans the time they needed. The reorganization was facilitated further by an advantage that increased as the fighting approached the frontiers of Germany: as the Allies' supply lines grew longer, the Germans' grew shorter.

Not only were the Germans able to reorganize; they were also able to man the western front with armies little if any smaller than those of the Allies. The Germans have an estimated seventy divisions on this front; the Allies have sixty to seventy. To be sure, the German divisions are somewhat smaller, but the numerical superiority of the Allied divisions is not so great as has been believed. And the Allied high command has no more men immediately at its disposal. This fact appears clearly in the statement which Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, Commander of the Twelfth Army Group, made on the German counter-offensive. He said:

> In leaving the Ardennes lightly held, we took what is known in military terminology as a "calculated risk" to strengthen our northern and southern drives. In other words, instead of employing our surplus divisions in the then quiet Ardennes, we used them to attack in other sectors.

One of the most important causes of this stringency is, I believe, an overestimation of what air power can do. The air forces form a much larger proportion of the Allied than of the German armies. Such a proportion would be justified if it were possible to knock out Germany's war industries by bombing. But all the known facts indicate this cannot be done. Certainly the air war has damaged German production considerably, but it has not prevented German troops on all fronts from being excellently equipped or, on the western front, from having better—or at least bigger—tanks than the Allies. A considerable proportion of the Rhenish-Westphalian industries have been moved to areas in central Germany, Austria, the Sudetenland, Bohemia-Moravia, and Upper Silesia, which, until the current Russian advance, have been comparatively safe from heavy bombing.

If German commanders have had to reckon with a shortage of oil, it has never been serious enough to have an important influence on military decisions. There is every reason to believe that the German oil supply will not be appreciably reduced in the near future unless the war is carried from the border regions to the interior of Germany. In an analysis of Germany's oil reserve the London *Economist* came to the following conclusions:

> . . . If the figures for synthetic oil are added, the German total for 1944 perhaps reaches 6,000,000 tons, although bombing may in fact have reduced the output even below these figures. Some stocks may have been destroyed by bombing, but it would be wrong to conclude that the Germans are carrying no stocks. Meanwhile, in 1943 and 1944, more and more vehicles have been transferred to generator gas, and more horse-drawn transport has been introduced for military purposes. The series of great retreats has also relieved some of the strain. It would therefore be unsafe to assume that the minimum amount of fuel and lubrication oil necessary to keep the tanks moving and the planes flying will not be forthcoming for another six months. Germany's tremendous losses of natural oil have undoubtedly brought it nearer to the edge of collapse. But past experience shows that the Allies always underestimate how much room there is still left for balancing on that edge.

The counter-offensive has completely upset the Allies' plans for a western winter offensive. In addition, it has, for the time being, strengthened the domestic position of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nazi regime. The Nazis know they have no chance to win the war as long as they have to fight on two fronts. Their one hope is that political differences among the Allies will become so great that the coalition will break up. On this point it is worth noting that German newspapers today frequently devote half their space to these differences. Column-long stories appear on British policy in Italy, on the veto of Sforza, on the fight with the Belgian resistance, on the war with the E. L. A. S. in Greece, on every detail of Anglo-American difficulties, on the Polish question, and so on.

Lately it has been the English Tories who have given the Nazis most reason to hope. T. Bower, a Conservative member of Parliament, informed his colleagues a few days ago that Russia had "stabbed Poland in the back," and went on to say, "However unpleasant, we must face the fact that Russian imperialism is sowing dragon's teeth in Eastern Europe today. If she is allowed to get away with it, I believe another more terrible war will result in a few years' time." That certainly makes it plain enough. Mr. Bower not only speaks for himself but also brings out into the open what many Tories are thinking today. An editorial in the London *Tribune* entitled "Our Relations with Russia in Danger" puts it this way:

> Their [the Tories'] opposition to Nazi Germany was purely opportunist and limited to the period during which Germany appeared as the main threat. This threat many powerful Tory interests consider no longer material. They consider their interests far more menaced by what they call Russian expansion into Central and Western Europe than by such threats as emanate from Nazi Germany. Their main preoccupation for some time has not been with what Germany might still do, but with what Russia is doing in the Balkans and the Baltic and possibly also in Central Europe and even France. This is no assumption on our part. It is an open secret for anyone who knows what is going on in certain Tory circles.

When the London *Tribune* expresses the opinion that today, in the midst of war, influential Tory circles fear Germany less than Russia, the Nazis are certainly entitled to some small glimmer of hope that the unity of the Allies will crumble if Germany is able to hold out a little longer.

Despite many weaknesses, the Gestapo apparatus is generally effective in Germany. By means of the most up-to-date and improved methods of terrorization it is able to keep both the army and the home front in line. Many writers have pointed out that Germany has no strong underground movement and have declared that this proves that the German people are united behind Hitler and the Nazis. In Germany today there are nine to twelve million foreigners, some of them prisoners of war, some of them slave workers sold by quisling governments. They work for the most part in German war industry. Without them the German army would have been beaten long ago. But the Gestapo is so strong in Germany that we have had no reports of a widespread resistance movement among them. Can anyone be so naive as to believe that these people favor Hitler?

All reports indicate that the German people are not behind Hitler, but that they are politically inactive. Not the least important cause of their apathy is the fact that the Allies' war aims offer them little hope of any salvation after defeat. Propaganda Minister Goebbels expressed the sentiments of a majority of the people when he wrote in *Das Reich* that the stubbornness of Germany's resistance was due, among other things, to "the Allies' fatal error in telling us of their plans for our destruction. These plans," he went on, "have been widely circulated in Germany, and every German at the front carries them with him as a catechism of war. We may lose all we have, we may lose our lives, but we shall never lose sight of this deadly danger."

The apathy of the German people can be overcome only by some challenging action on the part of the uncompromising anti-Nazis. Most of these belong to the political left. And what they have read of Allied policy toward the leftist movements in Belgium, Italy, and Greece—and the Nazi press keeps them up to date—does not encourage them to act.

We cannot expect a political crisis in Germany until the German army suffers a smashing defeat, until the war is carried deep into Germany, and until a change of policy by the Allies gives Hitler's domestic enemies reason to believe that there is a future for anti-Nazis.

Trivia Politica

WHEN POPE PIUS XII says that a return to the past is vain we had all better begin looking ahead. Those were his words to the Roman nobility when they presented him with a traditional New Year's gift. But, said the Pope comfortingly, "even the nobility has its task" in the brave new world. . . . EL SALVADOR'S fake election last week had the expected result; it was won by General Salvador Castaneda Castro, Provisional President Aguirre's man, who received 312,754 votes. Several hundred courageous Salvadoreans registered their protest against the dictatorship, however, by casting votes for the four opposition candidates, who had withdrawn on the ground that they could not combat the machinery established to insure General Castaneda's election. Elections were staged in the hope of fooling hemisphere republics into thinking that El Salvador had gone democratic. . . . IN SWITZERLAND German war books have taken a sharp drop in price. "Break-through in the West" has been reduced from $1.75 to 60 cents. "Victory over France" and "From the Karawanken Mountains to Crete" have been similarly cut. "In Defiance of All Powers," which contains the high command's philosophy, is now selling for 30 cents. . . . "RUSSIA BARS Entry of Catholic Priests," a headline in the New York *Times*, no longer indicates that religion is considered an opiate for the masses but simply that the Soviet is meeting its own clerical requirements. "I am confident," said Ivan V. Polyansky, chairman of the Soviet Council on Religious Cults, "that Russia's own talented and hard-working clergy is capable of serving the needs of the faithful, especially as the training of new priests is already proceeding." . . . "GREATER GREECE and George for King" was one of the songs sung at last week's allegedly spontaneous demonstration in Athens, which was actually organized by the Greek Chamber of Commerce. Street hawkers did a rush business in King George lapel buttons, and one of the banners showed King George bearing a can of bully beef, a bottle of wine,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a loaf of bread in his outstretched hands. . . . FRIENDS OF FASCISM will be glad to know that Jorge Ubico, ex-dictator of Guatemala, is safe in New Orleans. He says he will remain in the United States until the end of the war, when he will take up residence in Spain. Ubico's regime was overthrown last year after a fourteen-year reign of terror in which civil liberties were ruthlessly suppressed—and schools and highways built to create a façade of democratic progress.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

HOW German industry, in spite of the bombings it has received, can still exist, how it can still continue to produce, has long been a riddle, and reference to "underground factories" has been an unsatisfactory explanation. For how, in the midst of war, did all these underground factories suddenly come into existence?

The first plausible explanation is contained in a piece of information which the Stockholm *Morgontidningen* printed on January 5. According to this report the Germans have been able to improvise a considerable number of underground factories by installing them in abandoned mines. Old coal mines in the Ruhr, old salt mines in the mountains around Salzburg were ready-made refuges for some sixty large war plants.

The decision to transfer the factories to this underworld was taken with reluctance and only when the bombings became unendurable. Working conditions are of course bad. Coal gas, ground water, and difficult problems of space, temperature, and ventilation must be contended with. Moreover, the shafts which afford ingress and egress are a weak spot. The account in the *Morgontidningen* says that the single shaft of one mine was destroyed by a bombing and that more than two thousand workmen were trapped below ground and lost their lives.

Notwithstanding all this, the sixty underground factories are now in production and employing more than 400,000 workers. That is not very many, and their output is doubtless below normal; but it helps to explain the riddle of how German industry continues to produce.

Hitler's New Year's address was broadcast at a peculiar time—five minutes after the New Year began. Whoever arranged the affair must have thought it an especially good idea to choose this hour of the night—at five minutes after twelve on New Year's Eve people are in a sentimental mood and more receptive than usual to sentimentality. What was overlooked was that the expression "five minutes after twelve" has another connotation and that Hitler himself on a previous occasion closed an address with the words: "This time Germany will not capitulate, but will fight on till five minutes past twelve." The Zurich newspaper the *Weltwoche* reported that throughout Germany this seemingly trifling coincidence was the only thing that stuck in people's minds from the New Year's speech. It became in a trice—and remained—"the five-minutes-past-twelve speech."

Yes, the New Year's *Stimmung* was gloomy. But it is well to realize that a very different mood prevailed just before Christmas, that is, after the great Rundstedt offensive had begun. We now have reports from almost all the foreign correspondents on the reaction in Germany to the first bulletins of victory. All agree that the spirit of 1940 rose from the grave with astounding vitality. When the news venders began to call out "Great German Offensive" on the afternoon of December 18, some of the passers-by smiled at first, incredulously and maliciously. Then began such a battle for the newspapers as had not been seen in a long time. As later editions kept appearing with the headlines "Mighty German Offensive on a Broad Front in the West" and "American First Line Shattered," general enthusiasm developed. Men exchanged congratulations in the streets and in shops. The excitement grew as the good news continued through the following days. "Public opinion in Germany changed completely." The Nazi government was suddenly admired again. People decided they had done it an injustice. Enthusiasm mounted to such heights that official propaganda tried to dampen it. It remained high until, a few days later, the victorious advance was slowed. Then the flame of hope at once sank down again, and "the year ended in an atmosphere of gloom."

Drawing practical conclusions from defeat is technically known in Germany as *"sich umstellen"*—changing over, switching position. The Reich's diplomatic personnel in Switzerland is switching its position en masse; no fewer than nine members have recently severed their connections with the Berlin government. They are Prince Aloys Auersperg, air attaché, Dr. Georg Trump, press attaché, Gerhard Graf, *Kultur* attaché, plus a general consul, three consuls, the head of the Swiss office of the German News Bureau, and one of his assistants.

Outwardly all their cases were alike. All were ordered to Berlin "to report." All refused to go and left the service. Of course this account can conceal almost anything. But the gentlemen themselves declared that no deep secret lay behind it. In a brief justification of their action that they published for the benefit of Germans living in Switzerland, they reproached the Nazi government for only one thing —that it punished cruelly the slightest critical word uttered in private conversation. "But is there anyone among us," they asked, "except perhaps a few 150 per cent Nazi Party wheel horses, who has not from time to time made some critical remarks when talking with other Germans?" Clearly this was all that the gentlemen had on their conscience, and they charged the government only with excessive persecution of "even the slightest deviation from Nazi doctrine." They condemned such persecution, moreover, only because it "jeopardized the unity (*Volksverbundenheit*) of Germans abroad in an hour of grave danger."

The Swiss press without exception reacted unfavorably and characterized this kind of "switch" in uncharitable terms. We shall encounter it, however, more and more frequently, and not in isolated instances but by the million. Persons who thus shift their position assert, publicly or privately, consciously or subconsciously, that their defection is motivated by an objection to the minor vices of the dying regime; they do not repudiate its major crimes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM FRANCE

BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Somewhere in France, December 3

THIS is scarcely, as requested, a letter from Paris. But from the provinces one has a perspective on the events of today as well as on those of two and a half months ago, when I was there last. It was not surprising that anyone wandering into Paris during the first delirious days of the liberation expected, at the least, a new renaissance. The wine thrust into one's hand, the love and thanks that overwhelmed any American soldier, seemed to promise an immediate release of energies chained for four dreadful years.

It has not turned out that way. What we saw was a marvelous physical explosion, a heavenly yawning and stretching, the invalid's first faltering steps on the way to recovery. It was almost too much. From the provinces it looks like a slight relapse. Blood has started to pump back into the heart, but the real intellectual, moral, and artistic rebirth is bound to be slow in coming. And why not?

Americans, and I include all of us who have been in France for the last half-year, have no real comprehension of what the Germans did—from undeniable atrocity to cultural perversion. One hesitates even to make a slight criticism at the moment, since any American, in the past five years, has slept, eaten, smoked, and breathed better than any Frenchman. It is an error to think that suffering on the scale endured by France is "good" for the artist. It kills art and paralyzes artists so that their experiences are still-born so far as serving as subject matter.

How shocked some of us were when we paid a call on the editor of a review which now weekly holds together the great names of French letters! He had had a heroic clandestine career. But he was too angry even to be gracious. A cartoon had been submitted that he felt was too easy on some collaborating writers. The telephone wires crackled with gossip of *épuration,* vengeance, denunciation, and exasperation. Everyone, it seemed, had behaved badly except a few close friends. It was just like 1938. It was even rather comforting to realize, on leaving the wrangling office, that one of the constants of French character is that the more it changes the more it's the same thing. For the liberation was by no means a revolution, and the F. F. I., though once compared to the army of the Convention, has made of its capture of Strasbourg not a Valmy but another Allied victory.

From North Africa André Gide sends his journal of the arrival of the Americans in Algiers, and adds his name to the roster of the writers of the Resistance. The next week, in a withering *J'Accuse,* in the identical columns, Louis Aragon practically denies Gide the right to call himself a Frenchman, since he found the occupation the first occasion to learn German and read Goethe in the original.

The *épuration,* the purge, is less murderous than under Robespierre, but it has taken its toll. Stéphane Lauzanne, the most active Vichy journalist, was shot. De Brassilach is awaiting trial. Drieu de la Rochelle, once one of the glories of the *Nouvelle Revue Française,* tried unsuccessfully to expiate through suicide. De Montherlant, in an abject letter of apology, pretends to be a political idiot. He did not realize, with Céline and Sacha Guitry, what he was doing! He had hated the Jews before Hitler. Paul Morand, Pétain's ambassador to Rumania, is in Switzerland, and Gaston Bergery, minister to Turkey, has opened a dress shop in Ankara. René Benjamin is in prison, and Bernard Fay, the authority on North American culture, and Librarian of the National Collections under Vichy, is in very ill repute.

On the other side of the ledger Max Jacob, the Christian poet-painter of Jewish origin, died at Drancy, literally of mistreatment. Saint-Pol Roux, Jacques Decour, and Jean Prévost died under German bullets. The poets Mathias Lubeck, André Julien de Breuil, and Jean Desbordes were killed by the Vichy militia. Saint-Exupéry is counted as lost. Malraux, a colonel of the F. F. I. serving in the Vosges, is fighting, like so many others who may have families in hostile hands, under an assumed name. His study of Lawrence (D. H. or T. E.?) is announced.

The Académie Française reopened with a formal purging of Philippe Pétain from its roster, as well as his Minister for Culture, Abel Bonnard. It elected a great mathematician, the Prince de Broglie, André Siegfried, the economist, and Dr. Pasteur Valéry-Radot, an eminent physician. The other academies, the Goncourt and the Mallarmé, have undergone similar renovations.

An open contest for young writers held weekly by a good literary paper had for two recent subjects "Portrait of a Collaborator Who Has Turned His Coat," and "Books Which Have Done Most Harm to France in the Last Four Years." Cross-word puzzles appear in the form of the cross of Lorraine. The caricaturist Sennep has published his recent drawings; one of the best shows the Maréchal, with two bottles of Vichy water under his arm, begging pardon for bothering two Gestapo agents who are dismembering a nude. But there is no Daumier of the Resistance, and Picasso's "Dreams and Lies of Franco" were the last cartoons to treat their subjects with the dignified horror they deserve.

The last issue of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* appeared in July, 1943, and it will not be revived. It was put to the uses of Vichy. Its end was a sad commentary on the brilliant career which had launched so many brilliant careers. A number of weeklies are, for the time being, more or less filling the gap—notably *Les Lettres Françaises, Carrefour, La Marseillaise,* and other more popular magazines like *Gavroche, Le Temps Présent, Action,* and *France d'Abord. Les Temps*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Modernes, named after Chaplin's film, and promising the collaboration of Malraux, is announced. It first bore the title of *La Condition Humaine.* Its editor will be Jean Paul Sarthe, whose great and moving apostrophe to the Resistance, "La République de la Silence," started off the initial issue of the liberated *Lettres Françaises.*

The monthly reviews of arts and letters, some of which were continued in Switzerland and North Africa during the occupation, are taking up their Parisian headquarters. Notable among them are *Fontaine, Renaissance, Confluences.* Promised are *L'Eternelle Revue, Esprit, Vrille, Les Quatre Vents, Miroirs* (de luxe). There has been nothing de luxe about those that have so far appeared. Rationing of paper has almost amounted to censorship, and is a political issue. But the dailies continue to appear, as well as an increasing number of weeklies, purveying that fractional, factional, although precise and intelligent brand of opinion which American readers seldom consider a substitute for information. It was always thus, but one thing has made a real difference, namely, the recent reform laws, under which for the first time a paper is required to declare its actual ownership and circulation.

The Communist press, notably *l'Humanité,* has a large metropolitan following and is eagerly read in the industrial provinces. The daily with the greatest distinction of staff and style is perhaps *Figaro,* where one can read the exquisite prose and noble sentiments of François Mauriac of the Académie Française several times a week.

Paul Valéry has written a "Troisième Faust." This event of the first importance is to be celebrated by a special edition, replacing one of a hundred copies, secretly printed, which contained only fragments. (Other portions were heard recently over the B. B. C.) Valéry has contributed libretti for the use of contemporary composers, but this marks his debut as a dramatist. His "Faust" comprises two plays, the first part in a more or less comic mood. It is called "Lust," and in it we find Faust as an academician and author of several musical and dramatic works. The young woman, Lust, his secretary, rifles the archives to provide materials to aid his fading memory. Mephisto is a slightly tired clergyman who nevertheless recalls that he was once, in heaven, an archangel.

The second portion is entitled "Le Solitaire, ou les Malédictions de l'Univers." It is part fairy tale and part tragedy. Faust and Mephisto find themselves on the roof of the world, a mountain peak. The devil, short of breath, cannot stand the altitude. Faust throws himself into a fantastic cavern. This part is written in verse, the rest in prose. Valéry feels that his drama is indebted to Marlowe, Goethe, and the moralities of the Middle Ages. He began the play in July, 1940, during the worst hours of the flight from Paris. Valéry was up late, working, when there was a knock at the door. He went down to open it and found two enormous *Feldgraus,* helmeted, carrying an electric torch. They searched the house. The poet asked himself, "Have they come after my Faust or to make an inquest of my secret intentions?" But they passed by his desk, sought the roof, remarked that a slit of light was showing, and quit the house.

Gide is publishing his "Imaginary Interviews," which appeared fragmentarily during the occupation. He is as hotly defended as a patriot as he was attacked as complacent in the face of Vichy. His adaptation of Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra" is announced for spring production at the Comédie Française, under the direction of Jean-Louis Barrault.

Mauriac, aside from his stint for *Figaro,* is supervising the scenario for the first importantly sponsored film of the Resistance, aided by the first cinema artists of France. The exteriors are now being shot. Mauriac chose the most vocative of recent verse to be declaimed by the voices of the Comédie at a recent gala, and spoke the program notes on the poets from the stage. The same theater, now under the direction of Pierre Dux, an eminent comic actor, recently revived with much success his savage "Asmodée."

Louis Aragon, whose "Crève-cœur" is well known in London and New York, is publishing a new collection of poems, "La Diane Française," and a very long novel, "Aurelian," This former surrealist, revolutionary, and even antipatriot in the days of the popular front, emerges as the Victor Hugo of the Resistance. His quasi-official strophes on Paris, on the University of Strasbourg, on the Martyrs of Châteaubriand, give him the aspect of a laureate, but his "Musée Grevin," a long work named after the ghastly waxworks of the boulevards of the epoch when "Laval was Dauphin," and such great short poems as "Elsa au Miroir" demonstrate that he is still a poet.

Vercors (Jean Bruller), whose "Silence of the Sea" remains the classic description of the pure French spiritual attitude toward the German triumph, now edits in the open his Editions de Minuit, which were the highwater mark of clandestine publishing. But it is taken as a sign of the present slackness of creative writing that his lists mainly include reprints. I do not know whether his remarkable essay on "The Sufferings of My Country," written for America, received the attention it deserved. It is certainly the most eloquent sermon preached so far on the humbling of France and her present proud humility.

A great deal of poetry has been written on occasional themes. Aside from the poetry of Aragon, only the verses of Loys Masson, Paul Eluard, and Pierre Seghers seem to this writer to have much exportable value. It is curious to observe that the innovations of the surrealist imagery and idiom of the late thirties have been appropriated quite undiluted to serve as the academic voice for the official homage verses which are in as much demand today as the memorial wreaths deposited at the walls of executions in prisons and at the foot of statues whose pedestals alone remain.

The statue of Voltaire on the Quai was long since melted into German cannon, but the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of his birth is being widely celebrated in the state theaters and in libraries in Russia as well as in France. Max Jacob and Guillaume Apollinaire, victims and friends in war, now have streets bearing their names. We recall that the first to use the word *surréalisme* was *le Poète Assassiné.*

Malraux, speaking of painting, said that only the great works survive contact with sadness and death. Recently several writers of the Resistance were asked what authors they read in their captivity. Sarthe, author of "Le Mur," "La Nausée," and the remarkable play "Huis-Clôs," was imprisoned at first in Baccarat for two months, and was, he admits, bored by the Memoirs of Montluc. But a history of the two Restorations by Vaulbelle offered impressive parallels between Pétain and Louis XVIII. He also read "Around the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World in Eighty Days." In the prison at Trier he devoured Maurice Dekobra and was grateful to the French Ethel M. Dell for transporting him out of Germany to India, if only momentarily—also assorted detective stories, Sophocles, Racine, Bossuet, and "Sparkenbroke" *(de Charles Morgan, sans grand plaisir)*. In German, he read the poems of Rilke and Hans Carossa. His two greatest discoveries were Claudel's "Soulier de Satin," portions of which he tried to have enacted in the *Stalag*, and "Le Journal d'un Curé de Campagne." "Really, one could read no matter what, with passion, and those days stay marked with the book one read. There were the days of Somerset Maugham, of De Nerval, even the days of Maurice Dekobra."

Jean Paulhan, one of the founders of *Les Lettres Françaises*, was held incomunicado in the Santé. He tried to obtain a Bible from the German chaplain on the plea that he wished to be converted, but was refused. There were many legible descriptions scrawled upon the walls of his cell, but, alas! "these did not constitute a novel." So he tried to remember all the poems he had learned as a student. Three hundred lines of Leconte de Lisle "were a genuine comfort."

A conscientious effort is being made to catch up on recent British, American, and Russian music and writing. The *N. R. F.* is editing a series of "classics," the American works including, oddly enough, Melville's obscure "Bartleby the Scrivener." Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence are resuming their former popularity. On the stage Noel Coward, Eugene O'Neill, and Chekhov are hailed as allies. Boris was presented with much care at the Opera. Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down" is serialized in a daily as "Nuits Noirs," and widely praised as an exact picture of occupation.

Perhaps the most interesting of the new books promised will be an edition of the memoirs of the police chief Fouché, a figure with staggering likeness to the masters of the Gestapo. Duhamel's "Anthology of French Verse" was forbidden by the Germans and is nearly ready. A fine reproduction of the Bayeux tapestry—the original was recently shown undamaged in the empty Louvre—will be issued by Les Editions du Chêne, responsible for the best of the art books published under the occupation.

So much for a few *notules*. And it is impossible to make, in a phrase, any final generalization about the reemergence of the French spirit. It can be far better done a year from now when recollection, even of horrors, in some tranquillity, has allowed art to erect some new monuments in her almost accidental and unexpected way. Save for Picasso and the work of permanent value of Bonnard, little has happened in the plastic arts. Maillol died untainted by Hitler's admiration. Musical life revives with rather an insistence on Debussy, Gabriel Fauré, Dukas, and Ravel, but this can be forgiven when one recalls that there is a new generation of young Frenchmen, now approaching mature appreciation, who have never heard "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" (even in "Fantasia") or seen Courbet's "Burial at Ornan's" or Delacroix's "Liberty on the Barricades." Architects are invoked to submit new projects, and the museums are being renovated.

In the big provincial capital near which I have been stationed since shortly after the Germans left, there is an activity which I am sure is typical of many parts of France, activity

For every American interested in the future of his country

DEMOCRACY UNDER PRESSURE

Special Interests vs. the Public Welfare

by STUART CHASE

"Government by pressure groups is so well established in this country that merely deploring it will get us nowhere. Mr. Chase sets out, therefore, to examine the phenomenon, to account for its origin and to calculate its trend. He does this in characteristically lively fashion. The impressive thing, and the important thing in his discussion is its clear demonstration of how under the present system the people are losing control of their own government. 'Who is boss around here?' asks Mr. Chase, and no more important question can be put to American democracy. . . . *Democracy Under Pressure* is worth while because it does ask the question abruptly, sharply, clearly."—Gerald W. Johnson, *N. Y. Herald Tribune.* $1.00

This is the fourth volume in Stuart Chase's series, WHEN THE WAR ENDS. Have you read his earlier titles: THE ROAD WE ARE TRAVELING, GOALS FOR AMERICA and WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM? Each $1.00

At all bookstores

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

330 West 42nd Street, New York 18, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which may prove the nursery for France's future inevitable greatness. The new mayor is by *métier* an iron-forger, responsible not only for the magnificent restoration of the grills and gates of Jean l'Amour, the eighteenth-century master, but for the fine Maison du Peuple at Clichy. Renowned for his role in the Resistance, he was chosen to plan the local government. This he has done with dispatch and efficiency, but he has also formed a symphony orchestra which gives weekly concerts under the baton of Master Sergeant Walter Ducloux of New York, has arranged in the still empty museum a series of fascinating shows of regional art drawn from the rich local private collections, and is planning new industrial suburbs and the embellishment of the town by public works. His home is the delightful meeting place of French artists and engineers, American officers and enlisted men, and visiting members of De Gaulle's government. It is significant that when he was asked to go to Paris to fill a Cabinet position, he refused, feeling his first obligation was to his own *pays*. France is a land of such *propres pays*, and from them have gone the Rimbauds, Flauberts, and Lautrecs, to make Paris the focus, but not the face, of France.

Narcissa

Here every surface is forever gloss,
Even Time's smooth sliding
Is a great pier-glass for her, slowly drawn
In panoramic gliding.

Her days are hanging mirrors, and her hours,
Like ivory-handled looking-glasses, lie
On varnished dressers, ready to the hand,
Convenient to the eye.

And even the little moments, quickly taken,
Like a compact from a pocket in a purse,
Reflect, with brief but shining reassurance,
Their offered segment of the universe.

So to the street; and Oh, the city glitters
Brightly around her progress; where she treads,
The avenues are sleek and supple rivers,
Along whose banks the people turn their heads.

Their heads are turned, it seems, in admiration,
And the plate-glass windows gleam,
Holding, alike, her motion and her pauses,
Her fixity, her dream.

She walks below the trees, whose leaves are burnished
Spangles of bronze or copper, and whose bark
Is polished, like a colonnade of pillars,
Black marble, on the pathways of the park.

And after these, she comes to the round water,
Gun-metal color, luminous and dark,
Leans over the railings, looking at her halo,
Unbroken, in the perfect curving arc.

Beautiful world! And even more delightful,
In the secret close, to meet and recognize,
Double and pure and absolutely faithful,
Her smiling image in her lover's eyes.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Early Joyce

A LONG PASSAGE from the first version of James Joyce's "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" is contained in "Stephen Hero," edited and with an introduction by Theodore Spencer (New Directions, $3.50). It will be fascinating to readers of the final version and extremely valuable to students of Joyce. Much of it consists of scenes insufficiently developed, marred by sudden transitions. Consequently it may make little sense to the reader who does not know "The Portrait." But there is no longer any justification for ignorance of or indifference to any work by Joyce, who, it may now be said with assurance, used the language with a degree of *consciousness* greater than that of any other author who has written in English.

The beginning of this mastered consciousness of language—which reaches a true conclusion in the inexhaustible wonders of "Finnegans Wake"—shows itself when Stephen studies Skeats's "Etymological Dictionary." Yet at the same time he studies the life and the language of the streets. Thus it is clear that Joyce never permits his genius for the verbal to make him forget actual things and actual human beings. When Stephen Daedalus as an undergraduate struggles against the powerful claims of the church, of his family, and of the conventions of his time, he acts always from a profound sense of what is actual. He knows how abstractions and words often distort and hide actuality and truth. Despite his love of style in itself and language for its own sake, he constantly moves from word to thing, and from language to the experience which language should illuminate. In his mature work Joyce succeeds most of all when he is at once a great stylist and a great realist. In his first effort the double interest in language and experience is already formulated in Stephen's undergraduate essay, "Drama and Life." His theory, though directed against censorship and didacticism, cuts beneath these concerns to the principle stated and embodied in "Ulysses": "The fundamental question about a work of art is from how deep a life does it spring."

Depth of life, the full surface and the mind behind the surface, is achieved chiefly in the scenes between Stephen and his mother; and in this way "Stephen Hero" illuminates the guilt and remorse in "Ulysses." Elsewhere in this version, when the youthful Joyce is priggish, affected, pretentious, and of an uncritical seriousness, we are brought back to the statement in "The Portrait" that an artist makes no errors, since his errors are the portals of discovery. A reading of "Stephen Hero" suggests a less paradoxical statement of this truth, namely, that an artist always makes errors because his errors are his only means of arriving at certain discoveries.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Are You Sure You're So Clever?

THIS IS A COMMENT not so much on a book as on its publishers. Carlton Brown's "Brainstorm" (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.75) tells the story of an actual person who, for a relatively short period, fell victim to an intense mental

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

derangement. The author "novelizes" his story—that is, he moves beyond the clinical objectivity of the ordinary case-history to make immediate and moving both the internal and external conditions of the patient. This he does with considerable literary skill; and so far as a layman can judge, his handling of the medical and institutional aspects of the case is balanced and intelligent. In short, Mr. Brown's book is serious and perhaps useful. It is therefore worth noting the methods which are being used in its promotion. When I received a letter from the publishers which bragged of the book's "sensational" style, I was unwilling to decide whether it was ignorance of the language or cynicism which prompted the choice of the adjective. But having watched the publishers daily exploit in their advertisements the vague fear of insanity which is endemic in the public, I am willing to exonerate them of any charge of ignorance. "Are you *sure* you're so clever?" "Why are you vaguely uneasy?" "Did you really sleep well last night? Did you?"—it is with questions like these that they promote the sale of what they cozily describe as "the intimate story of a man gone mad." Observe that "intimate"—if it worked with halitosis and B. O., why shouldn't it work with insanity? What could be more intimate than a mind? Perhaps we can soon expect photographs of two people whispering behind cupped hands and the caption "What are they *really* saying about you?" It is a notable piece of irresponsible brutality, and of the people who are perpetrating it we would like to ask the question, "Did you really sleep well last night? Or did your conscience bother you the least little bit?" LIONEL TRILLING

Malarkey

FOR FIFTEEN unhappy though highly lucrative years I sat in cubicles in various advertising agencies manufacturing the sort of malarkey described in "The Advertising Smoke Screen," by Blake Clark (Harpers, $2). Lately my advertising acquaintances have been telling me that those bad old days have gone forever, but the bulk of the content of Sergeant Clark's devastating book indicates that advertising today is on the whole even more terrible than it was prior to World War I, despite all the pious protestations of committees on advertising ethics.

The hard-hitting author, whose article on cigarette advertising in the *Reader's Digest* raised such almighty hob, is in the good tradition of Stuart Chase, James Rorty, and a few, too few, others, when he names the names of the corporations, their products, and their advertising agencies which are currently repeating the Great Lies.

Sergeant Clark goes to the horse's mouth for his indictments, taking his material from the Federal Trade Commission's complaints against fraudulent advertising. He tells us that the commission, ridiculously undermanned as it is, handled, in 1943, more than 1,500 cases of false advertising claims at a cost of one and one-half cents per citizen. With precision aim Sergeant Clark, backed up by the FTC, picks off the heavy battalions of the advertising armies, the big cigarette manufacturers, the toothpaste purveyors, the laxative lads, the prevention-of-baldness boys, the common-cold commandos, the vitamin vultures.

One discouraging feature of the business is the way in

5 Magazine Combinations that will save you money!

- THE Nation and HARPERS MAGAZINE $6.50
  You save $2.50
- THE Nation and CONSUMERS UNION $7.00
  You save $1.50
- THE Nation and HARPERS MAGAZINE and CONSUMERS UNION $9.00
  You save $3.50
- THE Nation and FREE WORLD $7.50
  You save $1.50
- THE Nation and SATURDAY REVIEW of LITERATURE $8.50
  You save $1.50
- THE Nation by itself: 1 Year $5—2 Years $8—3 Years $11
  You save $2.00 for two years, $4.00 for three years

Convenient Order Form

The Nation Associates, Inc.
Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Please send the following magazine combinations, for which I enclose $.....

Magazines.....

Name.....

Street.....

City..... Zone & State.....

Canadian & Foreign Postage $1 extra 1-27-45

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which supposedly reputable researchers and publishers lend themselves to the promotion of the hokum emanating from the copy-writers' cubicles. In the matter of toothpastes, let it be said to the honor of the dental profession that its members come off a lot better than do the medicos connected with the fraudulent cigarette claims. Gatherings of dentists have denounced all the ballyhoo about the magic powers of any particular brand of dentrifice, and their journals have refused to take such advertising.

This book is no generalized, wholesale indictment of advertising *per se*. The author recognizes its legitimate function in the fields of mass production under a profit system. He gives due credit to honest advertisers and the efforts of *Printer's Ink*, the trade journal of the profession, and other bodies struggling against seemingly insuperable odds to clean house.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

China to Emily Hahn

THE POLITICS of Emily Hahn's story of what China meant to her too easily goes overlooked in the face of the titillation of the lively and otherwise diverting pages of "China to Me" (Doubleday, Doran, $3). But the unwary reader, and there will be many for a book of this type, will nevertheless gain a very definite political slant on China, cleverly angled by a clever writer and adding up to a thoroughly distorted picture.

A wary reader might be inclined to ask what qualifications the author has for dealing with Chinese politics. "Mickey" Hahn's years in China were spent almost exclusively in three cities—Shanghai, Hongkong, and Chungking. At Chungking she apparently underwent the bombings with some fortitude, for which she deserves full credit, but this can hardly be considered a representative contact with the Chinese war effort. Her closest insight into things Chinese came through Sinmay, admittedly a dilettante who never left Shanghai if he could help it. She had contacts with important people—the Soong sister she most admired was Madame Kung. Madame Sun Yat-sen would not even see Emily Hahn, and she comes off pretty badly in "Mickey's" book. The ordinary Chinese soldier is a very indistinct figure in these pages. Peasants or landlords are completely out; they were not part of the China that impinged on Emily Hahn.

And yet this is the writer who dares to say that the American public is being misled by Evans Carlson, Edgar Snow, and Agnes Smedley, writers who have not spent all their time in Shanghai or Honkong or even Chungking but have gone to the soil on which the Chinese people live and for which they fight. These writers need no vindication, of course; the facts to which they have correctly borne witness will henceforth supply increasing proof of their contentions, despite the airy wave of Mickey Hahn to the contrary.

At times the cleverness of this author overreaches itself. In the middle of her page attacking Snow, Evans, Smedley, *et al.* is an italicized sentence to the effect that she is not "running them down"—oh, my, no!—just insinuating that they have deluded the American public about China. Her prejudices—the strongest one is against "leftists," a term she much affects—are almost as fascinating as her naivete. God rest her soul! Both China and the leftists may, perhaps, manage to outlive even Emily Hahn's commentary.

T. A. BISSON

Ortega on Education

DESPITE ITS PONTIFICAL STYLE and the unnecessarily long-winded introduction by the translator, Ortega y Gasset's "Mission of the University" (Princeton, $2) contains a number of interesting ideas. The author pleads for a simplification of the university curriculum to a basic minimum of studies, mandatory for all students. Universities should be organized around "the student"—what he is and what he needs—and not around "the professor" or "knowledge." But the student turns out to be a least-common-denominator type, not an individual. An intimate relation between the professional schools and the university is encouraged, but in the teaching of the professions "science," conceived as discovery or investigation of truth, has no place. Students should learn what has been discovered by teachers who are not necessarily scientists. "The teaching of the professions and the search for truth *must* be separated." This is innocent enough if it means no more than that an experimental research seminar is very inadequate as an introductory course in science, and that a physician does not have to be a trained physiologist. But if Ortega y Gasset's dictum means that science on any level is to be taught as a series of discovered truths, out of books, without a laboratory practice which makes "finding out" a genuine experience, then his recommendation is educationally vicious. For it misconceives the nature of science and the spirit behind it.

CONTROVERSY

He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that.—J. Stuart Mill

Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly, as when they discuss it freely. —Macaulay

Controversy is an open forum for the discussion of vital issues of today, and the opinions and ideas of all schools of thought. The bulk of the magazine is composed of forums, debates and individual opinion articles. For a true understanding of what is going on in the world you must have a knowledge of both sides of the basic issues of today and tomorrow. Reading *Controversy* may modify your views; if not, it will surely solidify them. Here is the only place where any person with something to say (and knows how to say it) may express himself.

A few features in the winter issue:
Heated Discussion of the Race Problem
The Campus Circus ..... *Malcolm Boyd*
Is the Atlantic Charter a Pretention? ... *Julius Weil*
I Voted to Strike ..... *Benjamin Ball*
Evolution of the Radical Writer ..... *William Waller*
How to Detect an Anti-Semite ... *P. Stout* } A Debate
Reply to a Critic ..... *Gabriel Grundy* }
Are We Fighting for a Better World? *Leon Coloutes*
Realism on the Road to Peace ..... *John McWilliams*
Departments: *The American Scene, Literature, Book and Magazine Reviews*
Send the coupon TODAY, please.

CONTROVERSY, 212 F. & M. Bldg., West Chester, Pa.
Enter my subscription to *Controversy* for:
☐ 1 year $2.00 ☐ 6 months $1.00 ☐ 2 years $3.00
Send the winter issue immediately

Name.....

Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The most arresting suggestion of the book is that a Faculty of Culture should be central in university instruction. Its function is to teach the vital ideas, the active convictions "at the height of the times," in the form of syntheses of knowledge. There are certain ambiguities that becloud the proposal. Are universities to teach only one philosophical synthesis of "the world and man" or a variety? Presumably any they believe in, so long as it is the result of uncoerced inquiry. In that case, what Ortega's suggestion amounts to is an invitation to cooperation and cross-fertilization between faculties—a modest but sound idea. This characterization also applies to his suggestion that the university, as a group of scholars, should participate in the contemporary life of the people and recognize the fundamental problems of social policy as its own. "The university *is* science *in addition*." The addition is history—or the life of the time. In America at any rate many universities have already carried out some of Ortega's ideas episodically. His point is that it should be done everywhere systematically.

The essay was first published in 1930. That it should be so topical for current educational discussion, notwithstanding the profound structural differences between American and European universities, is a sign that the author raises some fundamental questions. SIDNEY HOOK

Writers in Exile

PETER M. LINDT, whose German-language broadcasts are known to many *Nation* readers, has recorded his programs in a little book entitled "Schriftsteller im Exil," with a foreword by President Shuster of Hunter College (Willard Publishing Company, $3.20). Besides being a report of interesting converations before the microphone, the book constitutes a small directory of German writers now in the United States. The list of names should give Hitler something to think about.

Dance Note

EVERY once in a while an artist turns up on Broadway whose heightened sense of life intensifies our own. Josephine Prémice, Haitian singer and dancer, who appeared on a program with Hadassah and Pearl Primus at the Times Hall theater week before last, is one of these. Like Carmen Amaya, whose quality and art are quite different from hers, Prémice is a live, rich personality working in a live, rich tradition; both are authentic. Prémice's gestures appear as casual and inevitable as breathing, yet involve a process quite as complicated. Everything she does has effortless authority—her approach, manner, wit, the wriggle of her hips, the way she looks at an audience. An inner, absolute timing, projected in voice and gesture, hits the audience straight and is as immediately invigorating as a blood transfusion. The Negro-French elements of Haitian folklore, moreover, produce an art that in its own way has complexities and fascinations as beguiling as those of the Spanish-Arabic *flamenco*. The carnival and voodoo songs which form the basis of her performance combine the sophistication and naivete which characterize Prémice herself. Both are delightful.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

CONCERTS

NEW SERIES • FIVE PAIRS OF CONCERTS
STOKOWSKI
N. Y. CITY SYMPHONY
Single and Subscription SEATS NOW
JAN. 29-30, Musorgsky, music from Boris Godunov; Miaskovsky Symphony No. 21; Rimsky-Korsakov, Scheherezade.
FEB. 12-13, 26-27;
MAR. 12-13, 19-20.
At Boxoffice — 90c – $1.20 – $1.80
N. Y. City Center, 131 W. 55th St.

MOTION PICTURES

20th Century-Fox presents
ANNE BAXTER JOHN HODIAK
Sunday Dinner for a Soldier
ON STAGE • IN PERSON
Cafe Zanzibar Revue
BILL ROBINSON • MAURICE ROCCA
DELTA RHYTHM BOYS
Extra—LOUIS ARMSTRONG and his Orchestra
Now Playing ROXY 7th Ave. at 50th Street

"One of the Best That We Shall See This Year"
—Crowther, N. Y. Times.
TWO CITIES FILMS presents
MR. EMMANUEL
starring FELIX AYLMER
with GRETA GYNT and WALTER RILLA
Brandt's GOTHAM B'way and 47th St.

"BEST OF THE WAR!"—Walter Winchell.
THE FIGHTING LADY
With Lt. Robert Taylor as narrator
A Louis de Rochemont production • Released by 20th Century-Fox
Now Playing VICTORIA B'way at 46th Street

STAGE PLAY

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th Street, West of Broadway
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS
Nation subscribers should give at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Readers of The NATION are cordially invited to

The 40th Anniversary Dinner

of the

League For Industrial Democracy
Saturday, Feb. 3, 1945, 6:30 P. M.
Grand Ballroom, Roosevelt Hotel, New York City

SUBJECT:

"The Battle Ahead for Industrial Democracy"

Speakers

UPTON SINCLAIR
Pulitzer Prize Winner

ARTHUR CREECH JONES
British Labor M. P.

FRANK SCOTT
Chairman, Canadian C.C.F.

Greetings and Brief Remarks by:

Newbold Morris
Hon. Jerry Voorhis
Fannie Hurst
Julius Hochman
George Baldanzi
Charles G. Bolte
Adolph Held
John L. Childs
Freda Kirchwey
Harry A. Overstreet
Paul R. Porter
Theresa Wolfson
Norman Thomas
Wallace J. Campbell
John Paul Jones
And others

Presentation to

HARRY W. LAIDLER
Executive Director, L.I.D.

MARK STARR
President of L.I.D., Chairman

Tickets at $5.00 a place should be ordered immediately from

League For Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street New York City

ALCOHOLICS ARE SICK PEOPLE

A monograph for use by physicians, psychiatrists, psychotherapists, social workers, clergymen, patients and relatives:

by ROBERT V. SELIGER, M.D., Instructor in Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University Medical School; Assistant Visiting Psychiatrist, Johns Hopkins Hospital; Medical Director, Haarlem Lodge, Catonsville, Md.; Medical Director, The Farm for Alcoholic Patients, Howard County, Md.; Executive Director, The National Committee on Alcohol Hygiene, Inc.

and VICTORIA CRANFORD, Psychotherapist and Rorschach Analyst, Haarlem Lodge, Catonsville, Md.; The Farm for Alcoholic Patients, Howard County, Md.

edited by: HAROLD S. GOODWIN, Day City Editor, The Baltimore Sun, Baltimore, Md.

Table of Contents

1. The Purpose of this Monograph's Therapy (Treatment)
2. Are You an Alcoholic?
3. IF You Are An Alcoholic
4. What Really Drives You to Drink?
5. Alcoholism Doesn't Make Sense
6. Taking the Mental Hurdles
7. Life Without Liquor
8. Glossary

End covers: (Front) The Liquor Test
(Back) Re-educational Guides

ALCOHOLISM PUBLICATIONS
2030 Park Ave., Baltimore 17, Maryland

Please send me: ALCOHOLICS ARE SICK PEOPLE.

☐ Copies $1.00 Paper bound
☐ Copies $2.00 Cloth bound

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Films

JAMES AGEE

SEVERAL of the fairly important movies of last year, such as "Going My Way," were reviewed in this column in a couple of sentences because, lacking space at the moment, I thought I should at least add my own mention of their existence, and expected to talk about them in detail later on. I will open the New Year, a few weeks late, faithful to the same dubious policy. All of the following movies are more or less worth seeing; most of them are worth detailed comment. In case I never get around to that, here at least is a checklist.

"The Fighting Lady," a color documentary about an aircraft carrier, contains the most beautiful shots of air warfare I have seen. "Brought to Action" is a succinct, well-made record and laymen's exposition of last October's Battle for the Philippines. "The Unknown Battle," a March of Time abridgment of an Air Forces indoctrination film, contains especially fine shots of airmen in their briefing rooms, just before their missions over Germany, and answering their interrogators, just after the missions are completed.

"I'll Be Seeing You," the first American film story about a psychological war casualty, sacrifices much of its great possible value and interest to a painfully artificial set of hero-heroine complications. But there is also a beautiful performance by Joseph Cotten; and there are enough other unpretentiously good things to make a dozen average pictures.

"The Suspect" tells sympathetically about a man who kills his wife, marries the girl he loves, and lives happily until his conscience—which remains free and easy about the first wife—catches up with him. Such a story ought logically to cause the Legion of Decency to scalp itself with eyebrow-raising. Told straight, perhaps it would. Told as period melodrama, it will probably trouble nobody. The film is well acted by Charles Laughton, Rosalind Ivan, Henry Daniell, Stanley Ridges, and Ella Raines, and well if floridly directed by Robert Siodmak.

The screen version of Graham Greene's "Ministry of Fear," which is directed by Fritz Lang, is by all rights a better thriller. I didn't like it as well. It is stiff with movie talent and intelligence; so stiff it can hardly move. Perhaps its worst trouble is its lack of a simple enough emotional or human center. Each effective scene—and there are many—has to raise itself by its own cold will. But as a textbook for movie melodrama it is very interesting indeed.

"Guest in the House" is for anyone who has ever run foul of the special kind of pathic young woman whom it follows through her efforts to destroy a family. My wonder is that her victims, in the film, fail to see through her the moment they meet her; yet I suppose they are reasonably true to life in that. Not having seen the play, I can't compare performances, but I thought Anne Baxter hated and feared and understood the girl as well, anyhow, as the writing gave her a chance for, and knew well enough how to communicate her; I also enjoyed the work of Ralph Bellamy, Ruth Warrick, and Percy Kilbride. But to single out and impale so easy an object of popular loathing seems too thin and easy a way to write a hit.

That is my objection also to two current anti-Nazi melodramas, "Tomorrow, the World" and the British-made "Mr. Emmanuel." The broad idea of "Tomorrow, the World"—the juxtaposition of a Nazi-trained child and a well-meaning liberal American family—might be good, and the working out is at least sincere and, while it lasts, absorbing. But the film—again I missed the play—hardly gets beyond using its basic idea as a kind of tension, and varying the stresses. There is not much depth of perception, either of the child or of those who suffer him, and whom he suffers; and so in turn the idea itself is not very well served.

I don't like even the basic idea of "Mr. Emmanuel"; it is a great deal too easy to tear your audience to bits through the mere thought of a gentle old English Jew who is innocent and brave enough to go to Germany and ask dangerous questions during the late 1930's. Genius might get away with such a vulgar idea, but there is no genius involved in this production. The picture is, however, so intelligently made, and so intelligently acted by Felix Aylmer, Walter Rilla, and Greta Gynt—if acting is the word for what she does—that it is reasonably sure to get under your skin whether or not you resist its cardstacking and complacency. I hope it is seen by a few people I know (and a few million others I can through them assume) who can still talk comfortably with the more genteel types of anti-Semite. A blow from a mace of its coarseness might conceivably cause them to scratch their heads.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IF YOU have wondered why the Metropolitan's productions of opera are discussed so little in this column the reason is that its press department has not been able to persuade Assistant Manager Earle Lewis that a review in *The Nation* is worth the money he can get for a pair of good seats. And if I am able to report on "The Marriage of Figaro" it is because the press department managed to wangle back from one of the newspapers a pair of the excellent seats that are permanently assigned to the daily press.

"Figaro" as performed the last two seasons has been the greatest experience one could have at the Metropolitan; and it is still that, even though this year's performance is not up to last year's. Where Bruno Walter's treatment of the music was relaxed and spacious, Erich Leinsdorf's is tense and driving: he rushes hectically not only through particular pieces of music—through everything up to Cherubino's first aria, for example—but from one thing to the next. Thus, not only is his pace for *Dove sono* rather fast for the meditative character of both words and music, but he does not pause long enough for Eleanor Steber's *pianissimo* singing of the *reprise* to create the wonderful effect it did last year. So throughout, and worst of all at the end, when he goes from the hushed exclamations at the Countess's unexpected entrance to the Count's *Contessa, perdono!* without a pause sufficient to prepare the audience for this concluding sublimity.

On the other hand I was newly impressed this time by Herbert Graf's imagination and skill in laying out the lines of the action on the stage and filling in detail. But I still feel that a few of the details should be changed. In the second act Susanna tries one of her caps on Cherubino; but she has measured herself against him, and should try one of her dresses on him. During this scene, moreover, Steber may intend the Countess to appear distraught; but what she achieves is an appearance of lacking interest and not being involved in what is going on; and the Countess should be an interested onlooker. Far worse is what Sayao does in the Countess's cloak and hat in the last act: it is the antics of a child in the clothes of an adult, not the exaggeratedly grand movements of a maid in the clothes of her mistress; it gets laughs, but so would the dramatically right thing. The mistake may be Graf's; or he may lack the power to correct Sayao, who is guilty of other excesses—mostly of pertness—throughout the opera.

That is the only defect in the work of a superb cast. The outstanding performance is Steber's Countess: as I wrote last year, nobody I have seen in the role conveyed as she does the neglected young wife's beauty, spirit, and wounded pride, her humiliation at having to involve herself with her servants in stratagems against her husband; and she sings the part beautifully, using a small but lovely voice with fine musical taste and moving expressiveness. As it happens, Sayao also has a small voice of brighter timbre, which she uses with equal taste and expressiveness, and which blends perfectly with Steber's; so that their singing of the Letter Duet is one of the most enchanting moments in the opera. The Cherubino this year is Risë Stevens—amusingly gawky, and with her singing free of the tremolo and the explosiveness in phrasing that afflicted it two years ago. Brownlee's Count is good. And Pinza's Figaro—rather than his Don Giovanni—is, in my opinion, his best performance. (What is good in his Figaro is not good in his Don Giovanni: it makes him a Giovanni, not a Don.) As for the smaller parts in the ensemble, they are excellently done by Baccaloni, De Paolis, and the rest.

The first of Lotte Lehmann's series of three *Lieder*-recitals was devoted to Schubert and Schumann, and provided another impressive demonstration of the art that has been refined and perfected by the need of discretion in the use of an aging voice. The voice, at this concert, was still lovely; the art more moving than ever; but they were revealed in a program whose too many archnesses and inanities imposed less strain on the voice than they did, after a while, on the hearer's—or at any rate on this hearer's—patience. However there was every now and then an outstanding song which was made into an unforgettable experience. If we have seen and heard the last of Lehmann's great performances in the opera house we may still experience her gifts of dramatic characterization and projection in the concert hall—in her side-splitting performance of Schumann's "Kartenlegerin," among others.

CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY B. JONES served for more than two years as head of the Film Reviewing and Analysis Section of the OWI Bureau of Motion Pictures. The opinions expressed in her article, however, are her own.

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer who had an official post in North Africa in 1942-43.

DOROTHY BARUCH, author of "You, Your Children, and War," has acted as special consultant for the War Manpower Commission in Southern California.

FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist, is the author of "From Nazi Sources: Germany's War Chances."

PRIVATE LINCOLN KIRSTEIN is an interpreter in a Regional Military Government unit, attached to the Third Army.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

Civil Rights Defense Committee

MASS MEETING

To Greet the Defendants in the

Minneapolis Labor Case

To be released from prison January 24

These 18 CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders are the first victims of the unconstitutional Smith "Gag" Act. Their freedom was demanded by labor and fraternal organizations representing over 4,000,000 members.

Speakers:

4 of the released prisoners:
James P. Cannon Farrell Dobbs
Albert Goldman Felix Morrow

Also:

James T. Farrell, noted novelist
Osmond K. Fraenkel, Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union
And CIO and AFL representatives

HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 West 43d St., N. Y. C.
FRIDAY, FEB. 2
8:15 P. M. Admission, 25¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its 100TH APPEARANCE

WHEN IS A 'CROSSWORD' NOT A 'CROSS WORD'?

When it's *The Nation* puzzle, which, continuing its checkered career, makes its 100th appearance this week. For you can't call it a "cross word" in the old-fashioned sense: it's more of an armchair detective problem really — complete with clues, false scents, red herrings, and whatnot. Especially whatnot.

Yes, when you settle back in a comfortable chair, with pipe and bowl handy, to tackle a *Nation* Crossword, your mind is soon being pleasantly titillated in a battle of wits with our own Professor Moriarty. Not that there's anything unfair about our Professor's methods, mind you. On the contrary. He's just a whimsically humorous, quizzical sort of fellow with playful habits—one of them being his ingenious way of actually telling you the answer you want! Judge Patrick H. O'Brien wrote recently: ". . . . often, when I find the answer, I get a good laugh at my own stupidity for not having been able to see it at a glance."

If you haven't yet fallen under the spell, try your 'prentice hand on the puzzle on this page. Even if you don't completely solve it, we wager you'll be proud of your own perspicacity before you've progressed very far. Reference books are not a sine qua non—it's the use of "the little gray cells" that counts. Plus, of course, a nodding acquaintance with the simple facts of life.

Convenient Order Form

THE NATION 1-27-45
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Please enter a "Nation" subscription for the period indicated below. I enclose $..... or, bill me ☐.

☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8
☐ 3 years $11

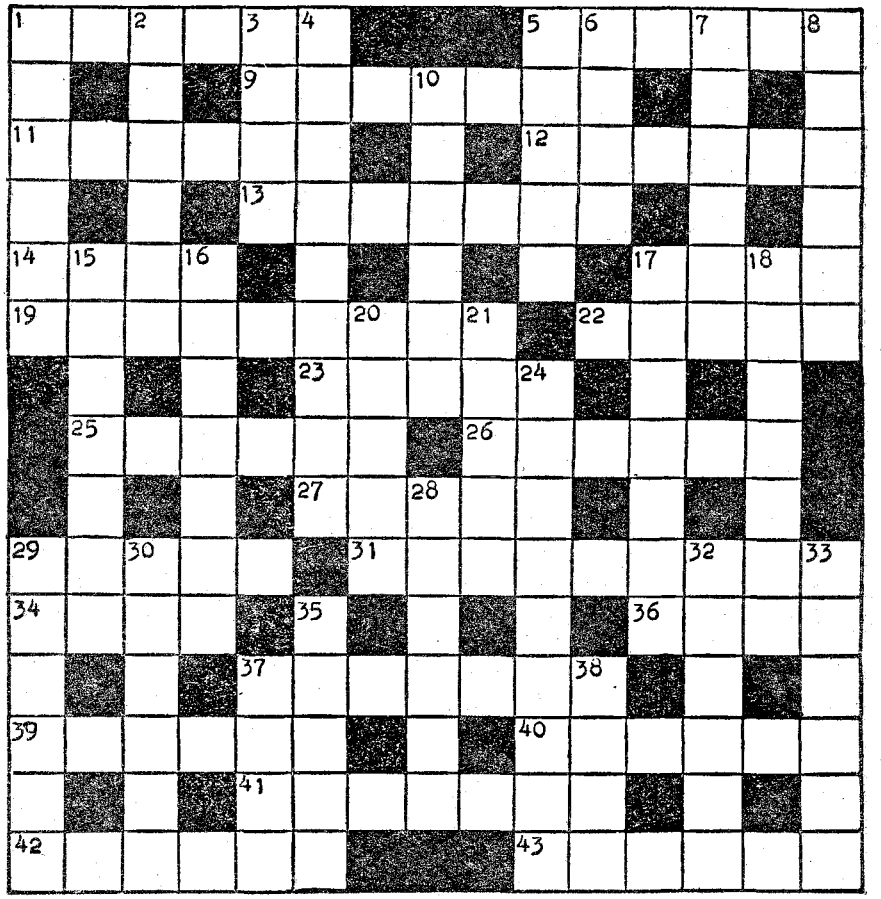
Name .....

Address .....

.....

Canadian and Foreign: $1.00 extra.

Crossword Puzzle No. 100 by JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Young horse with an able seaman amidships facing aft
5 You in sport perhaps, but unlikely
9 A change from shortbread for the Scot
11 Turner makes a comeback
12 Patron saint of Scotland
13 They think too much of themselves
14 Found in the heart of a forest
17 Move in here
19 They are not for men
22 Must be incarnate, since he can be fined
23 Foolish — like the answer
25 "------ the rugged rocks the ragged rascals ran"
26 It is over even the radio expert's head
27 Number of yards of cloth in a Highland kilt (one version)
29 Scoffed
31 Ali, Ena, Ted are estranged, as you can see
34 Retreat
36 "Cherry ----, ----, ----, I cry" (*Cherry* ----)
37 Put its head on its tail and get the supposed original of the mermaid
39 South American Indians' arrow poison
40 Ran off to Gretna Green
41 Must have had a lot of rain when we visited Venice . . . these were full of water
42 Hawkshaw, the defective detective perhaps
43 Put thy ear to the ground

DOWN

1 A Sidney who voluntarily went to the guillotine to save his successful rival in love
2 Live in luxury
3 Learning in a disguised rôle
4 Orangemen might find in this a distinctive flavor of old Ireland
5 Cheap fish?
6 Two make a score
7 When he took ship he didn't register as a passenger
8 Virtue is its own
10 Peculiar for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain
15 Am a ruin in Europe
16 Not one that makes a long nose in play
17 Uniform
18 "Six hours -------, in law's grave study six" (two words, 2 and 5)
20 Heber wrote of its coral strand
21 A ship (anag.)
24 Seems to prove that two heads are better than one (hyphen, 4-1-4)
28 "How fleet is a ------ of the mind!"
29 A gentle slope
30 You may have read his *Cobwebs from an Empty Skull?*
32 Tip the favorite and get something for your neck
33 Add lye for fatal results
35 A Sidney who once found it so hot that he took off his flesh and sat in his bones
37 Broken rest
38 Here is our hotel, Sarah (hidden)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 99

ACROSS:—1 PLEASURE; 8 REMOUNT; 9 ANT HILLS; 10 GILBERT; 12 THREE; 13 COLLAR; 14 DORIC; 15 RANDOM; 17 ARROW; 22 STUMP; 23 FATHER; 24 LOCAL; 26 METEOR; 28 MINED; 29 DEMOTED; 30 PAINTING; 31 PARABLE; 32 MADRIGAL.

DOWN:—1 PSALTERY; 2 ENTERING; 3 SWINE; 4 RELICT; 5 DEVIL; 6 LOWBROW; 7 ENTRAIN; 10 GLORY; 11 LADOGA; 16 OUTLET; 18 EMBED; 19 SHUNTING; 20 PRODIGAL; 21 FOREMAN; 22 SAMOVAR; 25 ARMADA; 27 TESLA; 28 MANOR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED